

**HISTORY
of
ENGLISH
PRESS
in
BENGAL
1780 to 1857**

MRINAL KANTI CHANDA

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DEDICATED TO THE MEMORIES OF :

My parents, late Satish Chandra Chanda, late Amiya Bala Chanda ; parents-in-law, late Krishna Kishore Deb, late Bindu Basini Deb ; brother, late Sunil K. Chanda (nee Badal) ; brothers-in-law, late Sisir Kumar Majumder, late Dr. Jnan Ranjan Mandal, late Durbal Ranjan Deb.

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FOREWORD

The development of a free press is one of the remarkable features of the nineteenth century awakening known under the general name of Bengal Renaissance. To view the modern Indian press as a lineal descendant of the medieval news-letters of the Mughal age produced by the official class of *waqianavis*, would be nearly as good as to compare modern chemistry with medieval alchemy. In a very real sense the modern press is a gift of the West to India and it served, to use the expression of Karl Marx, as "a new and powerful agent of reconstruction" of modern Indian Society and culture. Quite understandably the initiative in the field had come from the English settlers in the land to whom it was a long established tradition. The wild adventurism of James Augustus Hickey had laid the foundation in 1780 of an institution that gradually worked out its own canons and conventions and grew into an important channel of communication of organized public opinion by the middle of the next century. The Indians were not slow to grasp the significance and realise the possibilities of the new development. By the second and third decades of the century quite a few among them including men of real talent and calibre had taken to journalism often with remarkable success. They had discovered in the press a novel and powerful weapon to wage war in favour of their ideologies—the reformers vehemently attacking age-old conventions through it and the conservatives desperately defending them. The language of agitational politics was born and criticism of the establishment, however mild, found systematic expression. Nervous and impatient, the ruling authorities had, right from the beginning, sought to visit the dreaded fourth estate with repressive measures curtailing its liberty. It required a prolonged struggle entailing the sacrifices of William Duane, Charles Maclean, James Silk Buckingham and Sandford Arnot, the spirited protest of Rammohun Roy

and the opportunism of Metcalfe, to restore it to its normal status of freedom. The sunshine of official favour was however short-lived. About two and a half eventful decades later the great rebellion of 1857 had shaken the foundation of the Company's rule in India and thrown the administration into complete disarray. Sheer panic had made the authorities extremely suspicious of the press and led them once more to apply the gag on it although the educated Indian middle class at its helm had never supported the rising. These vicissitudes in the early career of the press form one of the most fascinating chapters in the history of modern India.

A comprehensive survey of the English Press of Bengal, with all its ramifications had been long a desideratum with which the author has sought to provide us in the present volume. The early Bengali press has found its historians in Mahendranath Roy Vidyanidni, Brajendranath Banerji and Benoy Ghosh. Apart from a few volumes of selections from contemporary English newspapers and periodicals we had however so far lacked any study worth the name, of English journalism in its totality which is precisely what the author attempts here. Modelled largely on Brajendranath Banerji's classic *Vangla Samayik Patra* the work includes in its first part a detailed descriptive analysis of English newspapers, journals and magazines published down to 1857. Upon this solid factual foundation it proceeds to discuss in the next section a number of vital questions related to contemporary journalism—the respective positions of the proprietor, editor and the printer, newspaper postage, the area of circulation, press advertisement and the problem of arrear-subscription. The author has collected his material with assiduous care and marshalled the vast amount of facts at his disposal with remarkable ingenuity to arrive at clear-cut and in most cases convincing conclusions. The systematic and elaborate treatment of the internal organization of contemporary press establishment has imparted elements of freshness and originality to his study rarely to be observed in similar works and has made it a valuable and welcome addition to our knowledge of modern Indian history and journalism. The labours of future researchers may naturally enough correct and modify him in matters of detail, but the basic structure he has raised, it may be confidently asserted, has come to stay.

The volume closes with the rebellion of 1857 which ultimately led to the substitution of the Company's rule by that of the British Crown. The Bengal Press grew more mature with time, its organization became more complex, its influence more comprehensive. It would be quite befitting if the author would apply his methodology to a study of it under the Raj in a second volume, probing into its infinite variety and richness with the same scholarly integrity as he has displayed in the present study. Let us hope he will not disappoint us.

DILIP KUMAR BISWAG

INTRODUCTION

The subject matter of the present study is the history of the English Press. It is limited to the period from 1780 (the year of appearance of the first newspaper in India) to 1857 (the year of the Sepoy Mutiny, a landmark in the British Indian history). Territorially it is confined to the boundaries of Bengal. The papers and periodicals which came out under private and personal initiative chiefly provide the materials for this study. Organisational journalism has been taken into account only with regard to the Missionary periodicals. Journals of the learned Societies which were then engaged in scholarly and specialised studies such as the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* or the *Journal of the Medical and Physical Society of Calcutta* and the like are beyond the scope of this work. The *Bengal Annual*, the *Bengal Souvenir*, the *Oriental Pearl* and the like are excluded on the assumption that these were more in the nature of literary work than periodical publication. In the same way are also excluded the bilingual journals published first as vernacular papers and later transformed into bilingual publications such as the *Samachar Durpan*, the *Gynanneshun* and the like. But the papers which were initially bilingual such as the *Gospel Magazine*, the *Bengal Spectator* etc., have been taken up for consideration.

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The English Press in India in the period of this study was of recent birth. But it was astonishingly rich in variety. There were many papers and periodicals meant for the common readers. Side by side there were papers to serve particular sections of society and their particular tastes and interests. Thus we have the *Monthly Musical Miscellany* for lovers of music and the *Boquet* for theatre lovers. There were papers for the lovers of the Sports—the *Bengal Sporting Magazine*, the *Oriental Sporting Magazine* and the *India Sporting Review*. There was a pictorial

paper—the *Sketches of Oriental Heads*—and a comical paper entitled the *Comus*. There were the papers for the ladies—the *Spectator in India* craved for special but not exclusive indulgence of the ladies while the *Literary Star* was meant exclusively for the fair sex. There were the papers to entertain army and to safeguard and fight for their particular interests—the *British India Military Repository*, the *East India United Service Journal*, and the *East India Army Magazine and Review*. There were medical journals which aimed at disseminating professional information to medical men working in isolation in distant stations—the *India Journal of Medical and Physical Science*, the *India Register of Medical Science* and the *Indian Annals of Medical Science*. To serve the commercial interests there were the *Calcutta Gazette and Commercial Advertiser*, the *Commercial and Shipping Gazette*, the *Calcutta Exchange Gazette*. The Planters had their own mouthpiece, the *Planters' Journal*. There were periodicals representing law and lawyers—the *Legal Observer*, the *India Jurist* and the *Small Cause Court Chronicle*. Papers were published which aimed at serving the adolescents in particular, to enrich their store of knowledge and information, from sources beyond the four walls of their schools and colleges—the *Telescope*, the *Indian Youth's Magazine*, the *Rainbow* and the *Students' Companion*. There were the religious periodicals for the sectarian believers—the *Unitarian Repository*, the *Free Churchman*, the *Oriental Baptist* and the *Indian Freemason's Friend*. There were papers sponsored by the learned and meant exclusively for the learned—the *Asiatic Miscellany*, the *Gleanings in Science* and the *Calcutta Journal of Natural History*. The Missionary periodicals were however the largest in number. In December 1819 came out the *Gospel Magazine* (a bilingual) followed by many more issuing in a stream—representing both Roman Catholicism (the *Bengal Catholic Expositor*, the *Catholic Intelligencer* and the *Bengal Catholic Herald*) and Protestant faith (the *Christian Intelligencer*, the *Calcutta Christian Observer*, the *Calcutta Christian Advocate*, to mention the most important one, important from the point of view both of circulation and longevity) and also the belief of a handful adhering to the Armenian church (the *Calcutta Mirror*). To oppose the preachings of the Missionary periodicals in particular which aimed at influencing and converting the educated natives, the

latter got up their own papers, the *Extracts Concerning Christianity* and the *Rational Analysis of the Gospel*. Even a French journal—to be issued twice a week, devoted to Arts, Science and Literature and priced at three rupees a month—*La Nouvelle*, was advertised for publication!¹

* * *

The next point which strikes us most is the high rate of mortality of the journals in their infancy. During this period of 77 years little less than 200 papers and periodicals came into print most of which languished for want of sufficient nourishment and went off silently after a brief and struggling existence. Further, the bitter experience of the forerunners appears to have had little impact on the successors. Otherwise the list could not have gone up to such a length. There were of course exceptions and these were the *India Gazette* (1780-1834), the *Calcutta Gazette* (1784-1818), the *Asiatic Mirror* (1788-1820), the *Calcutta Morning Post* (1799-1818), the *Oriental Star* (1793-1820), the *Calcutta Monthly Journal* (1794-1841), and the *Bengal Harkaru* (1795-beyond 1857).

The overcrowding was already noticeable as early as in 1792. We read in the prospectus (in the *Calcutta Chronicle*, on April 24, 1792) of the *Calcutta Evening Post* that the Calcutta Press was already “a collection, which, in the eyes of many, may perhaps appear already too great.”

One of the earliest who deliberated on this issue was the editor of the *Calcutta Monthly Journal*. In 1800 he publicly noticed the phenomenon of this mortality but refrained from analysing the factors behind it (Prefatory address with the volume for 1800).

In the late thirties the question of failure of the English paper and periodicals once again came up for discussion and we get it in a lengthy article in the *Calcutta Literary Gazette* (then incorporated with the *Bengal Harkaru* and forming its concluding part)² :

1. *Indian Review*, October 1838, p. 440. We are not very sure if it finally came out. Even if it came out it must have been shortlived and had very limited circulation. We have no subsequent mention of it.
2. Quoted in the *Bengal Harkaru*, August 5, 1839.

“... Many attempts have been made to establish magazines and reviews in this country and these attempts have often been highly honourable and apparently propitious, but in a few months, or at most in a very few years, they have come to an untimely end... we can not attribute the failures in question to any one cause alone. They are the result of a variety of circumstances In the first place, this community is too limited to give ... periodical a chance of very extensive and profitable circulation, and it is always so fluctuating, that there must necessarily be a perpetual change in the subscription list so that it cannot reckon upon that steady support which is often continued by subscribers to similar works at home, who are reluctant to discontinue or change their magazine, even when its monthly issue is a monthly disappointment. Thus the old *Gentleman's Magazine* is continued in many families where it has almost ceased to be read There is not here as there is in London, a class of professional literati, always ready to prepare a certain supply of matter by a given time and at a fixed remuneration. The few persons in this society who can wield a pen with facility and power, are too busy to make literature a regular amusement and too independent in circumstances to make it a regular source of profit. All the Monthly and Quarterly Magazines, and all the Annual hitherto published in Calcutta have been supported by the voluntary contributions of amateur writers ... of late, indeed, the London paying system has been introduced but the writer whose contributions are worth paying for, are a very small body, and even these persons are generally in the receipt of good income from other sources, and will only write when the spirit moves them Then again, this system is at present confined to newspapers alone, for it would be found a very unprofitable proceeding to pay for all the contents of a monthly Magazine which can never ... obtain a sale that would cover its expenses ... To all the drawbacks already mentioned we must mention another of no trifling influence; we allude to the disposition in our countrymen to look homewards for their literature....”

Such were also the findings of the *Friend of India*, whose proprietor took over the *Calcutta Review* on purchase but had

to dispose of the same just after a year, being unable to continue it further.

We ourselves are of the view that an English Press could hardly flourish depending solely on a handful of colonial people, a considerable number of whom were mere birds of passage (according to the well-informed ex-proprietor and editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, James Silk Buckingham, in the early thirties there were about 50,000 British born subjects in India³ and we may suppose that during the period of our study this figure did not undergo any material change). The English papers and periodicals had practically no native subscribers. Even the *Calcutta Journal*, the most popular of the English papers, had according to Buckingham himself, not even 20 native subscribers⁴ and one of the reasons for this smallness in number in his opinion, was the lack of interest on the part of the natives in the "political and literary topics of which it treated"; other two reasons, according to the same authority, were the high cost of the paper and the language in which it was published. In 1843 Rev. James Long took pain to ascertain the number of native subscribers to English papers and could find out only 125 of them for five leading papers of the time (*Friend of India*, April 19, 1851). It appears strange to us that Buckingham (and also the proprietors and editors of other English papers and periodicals) though conscious of this limitation made little effort to introduce any remedy. We may here refer to the assessment of the English papers under European management by Hurish Chunder Mookerjee in his celebrated *Hindoo Patriot* (May 3, 1855) :

"The English newspapers represent neither the opinions nor the interests of the vast mass of the Indian population. They are, in a great measure, merely organs of the different services which maintain them, and if they do touch upon subjects of general importance it is only incidentally and without manifesting a subjective interest in them Hence they are totally devoid of any influence over any section of the community."

3. Reply to Question No. 633 ; Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1834, Vol. 8, Paper 601, p. 128.

4. Reply to Question No. 613 ; *ibid.*, p. 51.

Thus, it is clear that the English press under the European management did not become popular with the sons of the soil. It had no influence on the policy making authorities, either in India or in England. But nonetheless it had at least one utility. It made India known to England, and as early as in 1823 the *Calcutta Journal* (January 6, 1823) wrote :

"It is gratifying to observe that India and Indian subjects are every day acquiring greater importance in the eyes of our countrymen at home. The Press of this country has mainly contributed to this; and whatever may be its future destiny . . . it has already done enough, in rousing public attention to this distant and neglected portion of the British Empire . . . We scarcely receive a periodical work from London, in which India and Indian subjects are not treated of . . ."

* * *

The proprietors and the editors of the English papers under European management were generally sympathetic towards the native press at least before the outbreak of the disturbances leading to the Sepoy Mutiny. *The Calcutta Journal* spared much of its space for review of the *Sungbad* "Chundrica, *Sungbad Cowmudy* and *Mirat-ul-Akhbar* and published regular extracts from them. Such was the practice with many other and in fact such extracts and reviews are now the only source of our information on many contemporary native papers. The reason why the native papers should be encouraged was thus stated by the *Bengal Harkaru* (August 26, 1834) :

"... every Indian statesman must have felt the importance of getting at the real opinion of the people on the operation of our laws. It requires little experience to discover, that in verbal communications with European functionaries, the natives generally express, not what they think, but what they believe, will be agreeable to those whom they address; but ... the press is a medium of communication through which they ... fearlessly state their opinions assured that they will meet the observation of their rulers"

Dr. Duff also thought identically⁵—that the periodical publications of native growth was "one distinct mode of tracing

channels in which the separate currents of enthralled and dis-enthralled minds" were flowing.

Considering the utility of the native Press, James Silk Buckingham called upon the Government (*Calcutta Journal* June 27, 1822) to patronise it by subscribing copies of the native papers and periodicals.

In the fight for the freedom of the press against the Adamite legislations of 1823 the natives fought shoulder to shoulder with the English proprietors and editors and in this connection we are to recollect the role of Raja Rammohun Roy. The joy over the passing of Act XI of 1835 by which Sir Charles Metcalfe freed the press was equally shared by all and in the Free Press Dinner on September 15, 1835, the English proprietors and editors of newspapers and periodicals expressed satisfaction that "no distinction had been made in the recent Act between the native and the European".⁶ It is only with the outbreak of the disturbances leading to the Sepoy Mutiny that English press under European management became disbalanced due to fear psychosis and clamoured for press rules restraining the papers under native management.

The English press under European management had also an important educative role in respect of the native press. Besides holding up journalistic models before the Indians it provided journalistic training to some of those who later distinguished themselves in the field. It is difficult for us to obtain full and authentic particulars in this respect. But the few instances we come across point definitely to this conclusion. Hurish Chunder Mookerjee, the renowned proprietor-editor of the celebrated *Hindoo Patriot*, first wielded his pen in the columns of the *Englishman*, then edited and managed by W. C. Hurry. Baboo Sambhu Chunder Mookerjee (reputed proprietor-editor of the *Reis and Rayyat* of the later days) had his apprenticeship in the office of the *Morning Chronicle*, then under J. H. Love. Hurish Chunder and Sambhu Nath could not be the only persons. There must have been others who had thus passed their period of probation but of whom we have very little information.

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6. *Englishman* quoted in the *Calcutta Courier*, September 18, 1835.

This period of our study is of considerable importance for the native press in general and its English section in particular. It was, so to say, the period of its probation. The lists of papers and periodicals reveal that as many as 30 English or bilingual (English and Bengali) papers came out under native or jointly under native and European management and proprietorship, starting from 1829, when the *Bengal Herald* came out.⁷ The number might have gone up further as the particulars in Appendix I suggests. Excepting two of these—the *Hindu Intelligencer* and the *Hindoo Patriot*—all expired in their infancy. But some of these failures proved to be pillars of success in future endeavours. Thus the *Bengal Recorder* under joint-editorship of Srinath Ghosh and Grish Chunder Ghosh who were closely assisted by Hurish Chunder Mookerjee, did not survive for two years even. But subsequently the *Hindoo Patriot* under the management of Hurish Chunder Mookerjee and the *Bengalee* (appeared after 1857 and hence beyond the scope of our study) under Grish Chunder Ghosh proved to be unique success. There is perhaps hardly any doubt that their earlier journalistic experience with the *Bengal Recorder* had stood them in good stead. In the same way the *Calcutta Monthly Magazine* of Sambhu Chunder Mookerjee could not continue for even a year. But in the later days (after 1857) his *Reis and Rayyat* was a grand success.

A point relating to this nascent native English press which would strike everyone with astonishment is the high journalistic idealism with which it was inspired from the very start. To illustrate this point we may quote passage from editorials in the first native venture in the field of English journalism,⁸ the *Bengal Herald* :

7. Appendix II.

8. We are not taking the *Brahmanical Magazine* (which came out in 1822) into account as a journal. This was perhaps more of a religious tract published serially than a regularly conducted journal. Dr. Duff, however, took this to be a periodical paper and wrote—"After a short time (after the first appearance of the *Sumbad Durpan*) sprung up the *Brahmanical Magazine*. Its career was rapid, fiery, meteoric. And both from want of solid substance, and through excess of inflammation, it soon exploded, and disappeared."—*Calcutta Christian Observer*, October, 1838. p. 210.

(a) "... we intend to keep the columns of the *Herald* as free from party squabbles as possible. We believe that ... if the Public press be made subservient to private quarrels it become a curse instead of a blessing" (*Bengal Herald*, June 6, 1829).

(b) "... we have endeavoured to lay before our readers impartial accounts of both sides of any important measure; or when any of our contemporaries have given one statement, we have published the obverse, without by any means, pleading ourselves for the adoption of the line of policy inculcated therein ..." (*Bengal Herald*, June 13, 1829).

On one point the nascent native English press showed itself to be different from and superior to the press under European management. A bane for the latter was the practice of mutual vituperation in which the editors most freely indulged. We may quote the following passage written in self-assessment by one of their own order⁹:

"... they are prone to tire the reader's patience, or shock his feelings by articles bursting with flippant abuse or ill natured ridicule of this or the other member of their ... (own) order. Sometimes you shall see the incognite mutually laid aside by the contending parties or covered with a veil so flimsy, as to answer the same purpose, without utterly transgressing the rules of forbearance."

The native editors were free from this vice and this was the result of their conscious effort. On this point we may refer to a news-item published in the *Friend of India* on September 16, 1841 :

"We learn ... that a meeting of the Editors of the Native newspapers, and other influential members of the Hindoo community, was held on Sunday last, to consider the best means of improving the tone and of raising the character of the Native Press. One of the resolutions passed was, that the Editors should no longer indulge in personal invective and gross abuse, but cordially co-operate with each other in advocating the best interest of the country."

It is to be mentioned in this connection that the conductors of the native periodicals—at least most of them—were taking up political and social questions as fit subjects for their deliberation. And they discussed these with dignity and generally without any affront to their foreign rulers.

One of the perceptible features of these native English papers is the reflexion of the growing spirit of patriotism and nationalism in their columns. It would be relevant to quote a few instances here.

(a) As early as in 1835 the *Reformer* gave out the idea of “the Independence of India”—“when the people of this country are more improved, they will naturally desire to govern themselves and will become unwilling to receive order from England”.¹⁰

(b) The *Literary Chronicle* gave out a call to its countrymen to fight out their foreign adversaries. The idea of independence was however understandably kept veiled through the imagery of the Seikhs (Sikhs) :

“... Valiant Warriors!—let us go
And like ourselves confront the foe.
Victors, we have done a glorious deed
We have snatched our country from the grave
... And should we fail, it is glorious fall,
We bleed defending our country”¹¹

* * *

It may be mentioned that in Part I of the work, descriptive accounts of 150 papers and periodicals have been given. These were the papers which came out during the period of this study (1780—1857). Some more also came out as mentioned in Appendix-I, but in respect of them sufficient particulars are wanting for fuller treatment. In Part II there are three Chapters. Those who were concerned in bringing out papers and periodicals—the Editors, Head Printers, Compositors, Pressmen and Harcarahs (Delivery Peons), Reporters and Proprietors—have

10. *Reformer*, September 20, 1835 quoted in the *Calcutta Courier*, December, 1835.

11. *Literary Chronicle*, July 1850 ; The Seikh War Song ; pp. 208-209.

been dealt with in Chapter I, under "Press Establishment". Herein an attempt has also been made to probe the extent of influence of the mercantile community on the Press. In Chapter II, the struggle of the Press for gaining freedom from interference by the public authorities has been described. In this connection the attitude of Government towards the section of the Press under native management has also been examined. In Chapter III, some aspects of the Press and some of its peculiar problems which could not be elsewhere dealt with, have been taken up for consideration.

* * *

Materials for the book have mostly been collected from the contemporary papers and periodicals. Files of many of these unfortunately cannot be traced now. But scraps of first hand information on these are nonetheless available, thanks to the practice of the newspapers of the time for making extensive extracts from each other which often included the prospectus, list of contents, notice of closure etc. Editorial review of the papers and periodicals on their first appearance and particularly the advertisements for those, are also of much help. Some of the contemporary foreign periodicals like the two London publications—the *Asiatic Journal* and the *Oriental Herald*—are also of considerable worth for us in this respect. The vernacular papers of the time also followed the practice and have thus preserved many information.

Missionary records—both published and manuscript—have also been extensively utilised. The archives of the Bishop's College, Calcutta, the C.M.S. collection in the library of the St. Paul's College, Calcutta (originally the English School of the C.M.S. on the Amherst Street, now Rammohan Sarani), the Carey Library at Serampore (the centre of activities of the Serampore B.M.S. Mission), the United Theological College, Bangalore, are the main repositories of relevant records. In course of search for Missionary records I came across some very rare manuscripts—two Minute Books of the Corresponding Board in connection with the Committee of the General Assembly to the Church of Scotland for Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, a volume of the proceedings of the Missionary Council

of the General Assembly's Mission in Calcutta and a volume of minutes of the monthly meeting of Missionary Conference from October 6th. 1840, to December, 1860—containing signatures of Rev. Alexander Duff, Rev. James Long and their co-workers, generally unknown to scholars as yet.

Official records, particularly Parliamentary papers and proceedings of the Parliamentary debates contain many valuable references to matters relating to the Press in India during the period concerned and those have been used to supplement the detailed information collected from first hand sources. Published works already in the field have also been consulted and their arguments and conclusions carefully weighed and analysed.

* * *

On this occasion I express my deep regard for Prof. Dilip Kumar Biswas for his guidance in conducting my research, for Dr. Nemaï Sadhan Bose for his valuable suggestion in improving upon the work and for Dr. Kiran Chandra Chowdhury for his advice in getting out this publication. I also recollect with deep sense of gratitude the encouragement I got from Sri Rathindra Nath Sengupta, I.A.S. and from Dr. P. B. Sarkar. Unfortunately for me Dr. Sarkar did not live to see the completion of my work.

Prof. Hiran Kumar Roy, a class friend of mine in the College days, and Dr. Dilip Kumar Chatterjee rendered me their assistance in various ways for this publication and I am in grateful obligation to them. I also feel myself deeply indebted to Sri Sunil Kumar Chatterjee of Carey Library, Serampore College, and Mrs. Kabita Roy, Librarian, Scottish Church College, for the constant co-operation I got from them all through my research work.

In my family circle I have been laid down by bond of deep gratitude to my brother-in-law, Dr. Patit Ranjan Deb, who undertook great labour in correcting the manuscript and rendering me various other assistance along with my sister-in-law, Mrs. Phulu Deb. It is a great pleasure for me also to recollect the assistance and encouragement which I always received from my wife, Mrs. Kasturi Chanda, and my son, Sanjoy Chanda. Sanjoy also helped me in arranging the bibliography.

I am also to re-collect with pleasure constant encouragement which I got during the days of my research work from my near and dear one: my sisters—Mrs. Rekha Datta, Mrs. Abha Majumder, Mrs. Niva Mondal and Mrs. Bibha Bose, brothers-in-law—Sri Parimal Chandra Datta, Sri Bimal Chandra Bose, Sri Kanan Ranjan Deb and Sri Akash Ranjan Deb, sisters-in-law—Mrs. Padmasree Chanda, Mrs. Lily Deb, Dr. Arati (nee Deepa) Deb and Mrs. Geeta Deb.

Finally, I offer my thanks to M/s. K. P. Bagchi & Co. for their whole-hearted co-operation in bringing out the book in time.

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HICKY'S BENGAL GAZETTE OR CALCUTTA GENERAL ADVERTISER (1780)

On January 29, 1780, Saturday, came out *Hicky's Bengal Gazette or Calcutta General Advertiser*, a weekly paper, the first newspaper in India, printed by J. A. Hicky, "First and late Printer of the Hon'ble Company."¹ Hicky described his paper as "A Weekly Political & Commercial Paper, open to all Parties but influenced by None."² On November 11, 1780, the periodical underwent a little change in title. It now became *Hicky's Bengal Gazette or the Oriental Calcutta General Advertiser*. Hicky himself was the editor for his paper and his press was in the Radha Bazar.

From a contemporary Attorney in Calcutta, William Hickey, we get the following story as how J. A. Hicky brought out his newspaper :³

Hicky was in civil prison for upwards of two years on an allegation for financial delinquency.⁴ During his confinement he met with a treatise upon printing from which he collected sufficient information to commence printing. There was no

1. *Bengal Gazette*, April 1, 1780; since this Number Hicky used this title for himself without any elaboration as to his claim to this.

2. *Ibid.*, May 20, 1780, and the subsequent issues.

3. Alfred Spencer, *Memoirs of William Hickey*, (ed), 6th edition, London, Vol. II, pp. 175-176.

4. According to C.E. Buckland, Hicky became engaged in trade and experienced very heavy losses by sea during 1775-76, for which he was delivered to his creditors and sent to jail at Calcutta; C.E. Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, London (1906), p. 200.

printing press in Calcutta till then. By indefatigable attention and unremitting labour since his release from jail he succeeded in cutting a rough set of types which answered very well for hand-bills and common advertisements, and as he could afford to work cheap he met with considerable encouragement. Having scrapped together by this means a few hundred rupees he sent order to England for a regular and proper set of materials for printing. While patiently waiting the arrival of these articles, it occurred to Hicky that he might set on foot a public newspaper. Accordingly as the types etc. reached him, he issued proposals for printing a weekly paper. It met with extraordinary encouragement and he issued the *Bengal Gazette*. Instantly it became popular and "as a novelty everyone read it and was delighted."

The time was favourable for Hicky. It was a time of great excitement—the English and Hyder Ali being locked in deadly duel in the Deccan and everyone was craving for war news. Hicky had also the capacity to cater intelligence in a way most palatable to the public taste.

Hicky used to claim that his journalistic aim was to cast off the gloom and monotony in everyday life in this Settlement and that his *Gazette* would prove "Anti-bilious Specific" from which his "Subscribers will receive more natural benefit, than from Tincture of Bark, Castor Oil or Colombo Root."⁵

The *Bengal Gazette* in each ordinary Number had four pages each with three columns, of which 7, 8 or even 9 contained advertisements. A special feature of it was a "Poet's Corner." In this "Corner" individuals who had incurred the displeasure of the editor were held up to derision.

In the issue of March 25, 1780, appeared the first ever in India "Letter to the Editor" from one "Philanthropos" complaining about the unhygienic state of the Portuguese burial ground in the city.

The subscription rate for the *Bengal Gazette* was Rs. 4/- per mensem.⁶ The income of the proprietor of the paper out

5. *Bengal Gazette*, March 11, 1780.

6. The rate for subscription was never recorded on the body of the periodical. We learn of it from letter to Mr. Hicky by "No Oppressor" in the *Bengal Gazette*, January 27, 1781.

of this as well as from the charge of advertisements published in it must have been quite large. This is amply borne out by Attorney Hickey, the contemporary of the journalist Hicky.⁷

Hicky's principle of work—to hold up everyone, high or low, to ridicule by his pen—earned for him the deadly hostility of the Governor General, Warren Hastings, and the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Sir Elija Impey. Both of them felt the pain from Hicky's pen bitterly and possibly it was more so as they found Sir Francis totally immune from Hicky's attack. According to Busteed it "is a curious circumstance" that "he" (Sir Francis) almost alone amongst the leaders of society, never falls under its ribaldry."⁸ Not even the duel between Hastings and Francis (on August 17, 1780) had any mention in Hicky's Gazette though this piece of intelligence would have been lustily enjoyed by the reading public. The pronounced hostility of Sir Francis to Hastings and Sir Impey might have endeared him to the editor of the *Bengal Gazette*.

In the *Bengal Gazette*, April 28, 1782, Hicky gave an account as how one by one attempts were made by the Governor General Hastings to humble him. And finally, desiring to ruin Hicky the order of the Council was issued totally prohibiting the circulation of his *Bengal Gazette* by post:⁹

"Fort William, 14th November, 1780. Public Notice is hereby given that as a Weekly Newspaper called *Bengal Gazette or Calcutta General Advertiser* printed by J. A. Hicky, has lately been found to contain several improper Paragraphs tending to vilify private Characters, and to disturb the Peace of the settlement, it is no longer permitted to be circulated thro' the Channel of the General Post Office. By order of the Hon'ble Governor General and Council."

All these repressive measures against the *Bengal Gazette* by the Government of Warren Hastings made it immensely popular with the public and would be evident from the notice that the "great demand for the original *Bengal Gazette* has induced Mr. Hicky to publish them in one volume which are now to be

7. Alfred Spencer, op. cit., p. 176.

8. H.E. Busteed, *Echoes from Old Calcutta*, Calcutta (1882); p. 153.

9. The order extracted in the *Bengal Gazette*, November 11, 1780.

had bound or unbound at his Printing Office in the Radha Bazar."¹⁰

In June 1781 Hicky was taken into judicial custody on two indictments on prosecution for libel initiated by Warren Hastings. Bail for an unusually heavy amount of Rs. 40,000/- for each of the indictments was demanded of him and as he failed to meet the demand he was remanded to jail.¹¹ But the object of Hastings and his accomplice, Chief Justice Impey, to stop publication of the *Bengal Gazette* presently failed. It came out on each Saturday as usual till March 23, 1782.¹² Thereafter the types were seized by order of the Court and it went off publication.

Many years after this we get Hicky to address a long petition to Lord Wellesley in which he stated, with many popular arguments in favour of his case, the ruin brought upon him and prayed for justice and compensation.¹³

Prosecuted by men of authority such as the Governor General and the Chief Justice, Hicky was ruined. But these prosecutions endeared him to the common Englishmen in India of the time as would become evident from the following letter which appeared in the *Bengal Gazette* (on March 16, 1782) shortly before its disappearance :

"Mr. Hicky, Sir, . . . your fortitude in the cause of Liberty will at all times and in all places render your name precious . . . and the ample justice which must be done you hereafter, in a public and distinguished manner, will indemnify you sufficiently for the hardships you have undergone—How pleasing it is to reign in the hearts of your fellow Citizen—you deserve to reign in them—you have nobly supported their Rights and they will hereafter crown with applause the Champion of their Liberty. . . ."

10. *Bengal Gazette*, April 21, 1781.

11. H.E. Busteed, op. cit., p. 160.

12. *Bengal Gazette*, March 23, 1782.

13. Report from the Select Committee on the Suppression of the *Calcutta Journal*; Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1834, Vol. 8, Paper 601; Appendix, p. 132.

THE INDIA GAZETTE (1780)

On November 18, 1780, came out the *India Gazette or the Calcutta Public Advertiser*.¹ It was commenced by Mr. Peter Reed, a Salt Agent, and Mr. B. Messinck, connected with the Calcutta Theatre,² possibly under the patronage of Governor General Hastings and Chief Justice Impey and aimed at the destruction of the *Bengal Gazette* as constantly hinted at by Hicky.³

The association of Mr. Reed and Mr. Messinck did not last long with the *India Gazette*. Mr. Reed's association ended in 1781. Then Mr. Messinck carried it on. In 1793 Mr. G. Gordon joined Mr. Messinck⁴ and with the close of 1793 Mr. Messinck also withdrew leaving the *India Gazette* with Gordon.⁵

Passing through many a vicissitudes for over four decades as hebdomedal, in August 1822, the *India Gazette* was converted into a bi-weekly.⁶ It was then under the editorial management of a medicalman in the service of the East India Company, Dr. J. P. Grant.⁷ He withdrew in December 1828, in compliance with the order of the Directors of the East India Company prohibiting their servants from having any relation with

1. *India Gazette*, November 25, 1780.

2. H.E. Busteed, op. cit., p. 178.

3. *Bengal Gazette*, April 28, 1781.

4. *India Gazette*, November 22, 1783.

5. *Ibid.*, January 3, 1784.

6. *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine & Review*, No. III, October 1833, p. 404.

7. *Bengal Obituary*, published by Holmes & Company, Calcutta, 1851, p. 104.

the Press.⁸ Under Dr. Grant the *India Gazette* was a paper of "established reputation" with very "extensive" circulation and "strongly Whiggish in politics."⁹

As Dr. Grant relinquished the charge of the *India Gazette* it was taken over by Mr. William Adam (late of the *Calcutta Chronicle* and celebrated for his Reports on the State of Vernacular Education in Bengal). He converted it into a ter-weekly paper in January 1830.¹⁰ Thereafter, since December 1830, he published it in two editions—daily and ter-weekly.¹¹

Under editorship of Mr. Adam popularity of the *India Gazette* further went on increasing. In November 1829, the *Bengal Harkaru* calculated the circulation of the *India Gazette* at 350 copies.¹² According to a calculation of Mr. J. H. Stocqueler in 1833 it had 568 copies in circulation—both the daily and ter-weekly edition taken together.¹³ Mr. Stocqueler also determined the range of its subscribers as follows:¹⁴

Civil	—	103
Military	—	123
Medical	—	40
Mercantile	—	79
Religious	—	5
Miscellaneous	—	172
Gratis & Exchange copies	—	46
		<hr/>
		568

According to a contemporary of this period the *India Gazette* was "ultra-radical" in its politics, "severe" in its literary taste and "not inferior to the most respectable London Journal" in its mechanical get-up.¹⁵

8. *Bengal Chronicle*, December 30, 1828, p. 474.

9. *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine and Review*, No. III, October 1833, p. 404.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 405.

11. *India Gazette*, November 29, and December 1, 1830.

12. *Bengal Harkaru*, November 25, 1829.

13. *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine & Review*, October 1833, No. III, p. 405.

14. *Ibid.*

15. *Ibid.*, p. 406.

Gradually the *India Gazette* passed into overwhelming financial control of the two very big Commercial Houses in Calcutta—M/s. Mackintosh and Co., and M/s. Fergusson and Co. and as these two firms went on liquidation the *India Gazette*—for its three-shares—was put to sale and was purchased by Dwarkanath Tagore for Rs. 34000/-.¹⁶

Dwarkanath Tagore immediately merged the *India Gazette* (daily edition) with the *Bengal Harkaru*. Possibly his object in this was to become part proprietor of that leading journal to enlist its advocacy for the just rights and privileges of his countrymen and thereby to counteract the savage and unscrupulous attacks of the *John Bull* upon the natives.¹⁷ We get the notice of this merger in the last issue of the *India Gazette*.¹⁸

As the daily *India Gazette* was merged with the daily *Bengal Harkaru*, its ter-weekly edition became amalgamated with the ter-weekly *Bengal Chronicle* under the title the *India Gazette and Bengal Chronicle*.¹⁹

With the close of the year 1843 the *India Gazette and Bengal Chronicle* was given up in favour of the daily *Bengal Harkaru*, that being more in demand.²⁰

16. *Englishman* extracted in the *India Gazette*, September 30, 1834.
17. Kissory Chand Mitra, *Memoirs of Dwarka Nath Tagore*, Calcutta, 1870, p. 40.
18. *India Gazette*, September 30, 1834.
19. *India Gazette and Bengal Chronicle*, October 3, 1843.
20. *Ibid.*, December 30, 1843.

THE CALCUTTA GAZETTE (1784)

On March 4, 1794, came out the *Calcutta Gazette*.¹ It was commenced by Francis Gladwin,² an officer of the East India Company and an Oriental scholar. He intended to carry on his paper on high principles :³

“.....‘To hold the mirror upto nature ; to show virtue her own feature, scorn her own image, and the very age and body of the time his form and pressure’, is the task we have assigned ourselves. If in the execution of it we can laugh folly out of Countenance, and make vice hide its head from the shafts of ridicule, we can not fear but we shall be honoured with the favour and protection of the Public the attainment of which is the highest object of our admiration.”

It was not a government publication as the following notice goes to show :⁴

“.....The Honorable the Governor General and Council have...commended it to be made known, that the permission which they granted for publication of this paper, was merely confined to making it the channel for circulating the Advertisement of Government ; and that it is not by any means to be considered as under their authority...”

Gradually however the government control over it enhanced as it was made the sole medium for public advertisement.⁵ Possibly, initially these advertisements were charged for. Then

1. *Calcutta Gazette*, February 24, 1785, anniversary editorial.

2. *Ibid.*, January 11, 1787.

3. *Ibid.*, February 24, 1785, anniversary editorial.

4. *Calcutta Gazette*, February 10, 1785.

5. *Ibid.*, March 3, 1785.

as the proprietor of the *Calcutta Gazette* undertook to publish these free of any charge, Government in return granted the paper the privilege of free circulation by post.⁶

This privilege did not continue for long and was withdrawn in October 1787.⁷

In January 1787, Francis Gladwin withdrew from the *Calcutta Gazette* and transferred his proprietary rights in the concern to Messrs. Arthur Muir, Herbert Harrington and Edmond Morris, Company's servants, who carried on with the same authority from Government "as before by Mr. Gladwin."⁸

Though the privilege of free circulation by post was withdrawn, the *Calcutta Gazette* nonetheless went on publishing the public advertisements and Notifications as heretofore exclusively. This monopoly ensured an extensive circulation for it and also drew forth huge quantum of private advertisements and gradually it became almost an advertising paper.

In June 1815, the Bengal Military Orphan Society undertook to publish a newspaper—the *Government Gazette*—in their press and that was made the sole channel for publication of all public advertisements and Notifications.⁹ With this the days of prosperity of the *Calcutta Gazette* were gone. Many of the private advertisers also left it. The reduction in income necessitated "curtailment in the expenses of establishment."¹⁰ But over this trouble arose and the workers even went on strike. Finally in June 1818, the proprietors sold off the *Calcutta Gazette* to one Mr. Heatly, the then proprietor of the *Calcutta Morning Post*,¹¹ who changed the day of publication from Thursday to Tuesday.¹²

Situation went from bad to worse and the *Calcutta Gazette* now had only 180 subscribers.¹³ Finally both the *Calcutta*

6. Ibid., March 10, 1785.

7. Ibid., October 11, 1787.

8. Ibid., January 11, 1787.

9. *Government Gazette*, June 22, 1815.

10. *Calcutta Gazette*, March 8, 1816.

11. Ibid., June 10, 1818.

12. Ibid., June 18, 1818.

13. *Calcutta Journal*, December 15, 1818, p. 480.

Gazette and the *Morning Post* went off publication since September 29, 1818, with the following notice :¹⁴

"To the Subscribers to the *Calcutta Gazette* and *Morning Post* Newspapers and to the Public at large : The Proprietors of the *Calcutta Gazette* and of the *Morning Post* being about to close these Papers return thanks to their respective Subscribers.....and respectfully solicit both from them and from the Public in general, the continuation of that Patronage in favour of a New Paper to be substituted in their stead, the first Number of which will be published on Friday, the 2nd of October....."

This new paper was the *Calcutta Journal* of James Silk Buckingham.

14. *Calcutta Gazette*, September 29, 1818.

THE BENGAL JOURNAL (1785)

The publication of the *Bengal Journal* commenced in February 1785.¹ It was a weekly periodical coming out on Saturdays.²

The *Bengal Journal* was under the editorial charge of Mr. William Duane who in 1791 was ordered to be transported out of India by the government of the East India Company "in consequence of an offensive paragraph which appeared in the *Bengal Journal* reflecting upon Colonel De Canaple, Commandant of the Affairs of the French Nation residing in Calcutta", but saved for the time being in consequence of the intercession of the French Agent in his favour.³ Over this incident the *Bengal Journal* was given up in 1791.⁴ And the "whole proprietary Right" in it together with the "complete assortment of Types, two Presses and every necessary implement for carrying on the Printing business" was put up for auction sale.⁵ Immediately the following notice against the proposal for auction sale was issued by Mr. Duane :⁶

"Notice is hereby given that the Proprietary Right in the *Bengal Journal* . . . advertised for public sale . . . in the *Calcutta Gazette* is subject to the payment to me of Sicca

1. H.E. Busteed, op. cit., p. 170. The first reference of this in any contemporary periodical occurs in the *Calcutta Gazette* for May 5, 1785, in a letter to the Printer.

2. *Calcutta Gazette*, May 3, 1887 ; Letter to the Editor.

3. Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1834, Vol. 8, Paper 601, Appendix, p. 111.

4. *World*, January 5, 1793, notice "To the Public."

5. *Calcutta Gazette*, September 6, 1792, advertisement for "Public Auction."

6. *Calcutta Gazette*, September 20, 1792.

Rupees 6643, 9 Annas and 6 Pice, being the amount awarded by Arbitrators chosen, appointed and duly authenticated by and on behalf of Aaron Crosby Seymour, Stephen Cassam, John Stapleton and William Camac Esquires, on the one part and by me William Duane, on the other, . . . they . . . and myself being the Proprietors thereof, and of the said Advertisement being inserted without my consent, I do therefore give the notice, that any sale thereof not confirmed by me will be insufficient, and all parties making such sale will be held answerable to me as well for my Proprietary Right and share of Two-ninth parts of the said Concern. . . .”

Due to this opposition the auction sale was possibly not held.

In 1793, Mr. Duane who was then conducting the *World* made an attempt to revive the *Bengal Journal*. He issued an appeal “To the Public” in the *World* on January 5, 1793, seeking support for this venture. It so appears that unfortunately he could not attract required number of subscribers and as a result the project to revive the *Bengal Journal* was given up. There is no information of its revival in the contemporary papers and periodicals.

THE ORIENTAL MAGAZINE OR THE CALCUTTA AMUSEMENT (1785)

On Wednesday, April 6, 1785, came out the *Oriental Magazine or Calcutta Amusement*, a monthly periodical, published by M/s. Gordon and Hay.¹ It was to be continued "on every first Wednesday in each succeeding month."² As to its contents we get that in the first number was given "an elegant Engraving of the late Governor General, with some account of his Life and Transactions. The whole of the Bill for the better Regulations etc., of Indian Affairs, besides a variety of Miscellaneous Matter."³

In May, on the 4th day of the month came out the 2nd Number of this periodical.⁴

We have no definite information as to when it went off publication. We do not get any further mention of it in the *Calcutta Gazette* nor does it appear in the list of papers registered in 1799 under the provisions of Press Regulations of Lord Wellesley.⁵

1. *Calcutta Gazette*, April 7, 1785.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., May 5, 1785.

5. S. Natarajan, *A History of the Press in India*, Bombay, 1962, pp. 24-25.

THE ASIATIC MISCELLANY (1785)

In the *Calcutta Gazette* on July 14, 1785, we get "Proposals for publishing in Quarterly Numbers, The Asiatic Miscellany" which would come out in September, December, March and June every year and each number "to consist of 104 Imperial Quarto Pages" and priced at "one Gold Mohur."

Accordingly in September 1785, came out the first Number of the *Asiatic Miscellany* and from the Preface to it we get the following as to its nature and objectives :

"The design of the *Asiatic Miscellany* is to bring together various materials, that may render it at once entertaining, curious, and instructive.... The great changes that have of late years taken place in the political state of Hindustan, and the manifest alteration they have produced in the character of the natives.....are circumstances by no means favourable to the attainment of that acquaintance with eastern affairs, which everyone would wish to possess who has resided any time in this country. But learned and ingenious travellers from Europe have visited the different parts of Asia at periods, when the original character and manners of its inhabitants, were more strongly marked than now ; at times, when the prosperity of its native governments, and the affluent condition of its leading men, produced fashions and customs among the people at large, of a nature totally different from those of Europe. Great stores of useful intelligenceare dispersed throughout the works of those travellers, but some of them have long been out of print,....and many are only to be found among large collections of travels, and in unwieldy volumes..... One subject, therefore, of this work is, to rescue from this state the most interesting

parts of such productions. But the work of past times are not the only writings which we wish to draw forth to receive the praise they deserved. Though Gentlemen in India. . . . have little leisure. . . . it is yet well known that some have distinguished themselves by attainments. . . . and others have employed the little leisure they enjoy, in the production of miscellaneous pieces. From these two classes, we hope to be favoured with such performances, as will render great part of our publication original. Some Gentlemen have promised and others have actually supplied us with some genuine extracts from Persian authors of repute, translated with so much care, as to admit of being published with the original and translation on opposite pages. . . . The translations will. . . . be always matter of curiosity and entertainment to English readers.”

The contents for the first number were (besides the Preface)¹ :

1. The Bishop of Landass's discourse to the clergy of Ely on the importance of the study of Oriental Literature.
2. Hymn to Camdeo.
3. Hymn to Narayana.
4. Reflections on viewing the Mausoleum, at Sasaram.
5. Thevenot's Account of his journey from Cairo to Suez, in the year 1658.
6. An account of the Arabian Astronomy.
7. The Fatal effects of Precipitation, from the Ayar Danish of Abulfazal.
8. Extracts from the Khelassut ul-Akhbar of Khandesmeer.
9. An account of Embassies and Letters that passed between the Emperor of China and Sultan Shahrokh, son of Amir Timur, extracted from Matla us Sadein.

On completion of the second Volume (eight quarterly issues) the *Asiatic Miscellany* changed hands and at the hands of the new proprietors it underwent a rebirth as was advertised in the *Calcutta Gazette* on November 22, 1787 :

“ the present Proprietors have determined to alter the size. . . . from. . . . Quarto to. . . . Octavo. . . . The original design of the *Miscellany*. . . . will, all of them be

1. *Asiatic Miscellany*, Vol. I, 1785 ; List of Contents.

still kept in view ; but more especially the diffusion of many of the Eastern dialects ; the study of which is now become so efficiently useful. . . . and in addition, A Register of Occurrences will be inserted for the sake of convenient reference. The publication will hereafter be termed *The Asiatic Miscellany & Bengal Register*. . . . The number of pages, to be . . . 128 . . . The price of each Number to be Eight Sicca Rupees to Subscribers—To Non-subscribers Twelve. . . .”

Accordingly the first Number came out on January 10, 1788.² But instead of the second Number in April, in May came out the following notice :³

“The Proprietors. . . . finding it impracticable. . . . to publish. . . . this work quarterly. . . . have thought it best to make it half-yearly. . . . (to be published on) the 10th July and 10th January. . . .”

The first Number of this half-yearly periodical came out on July 21, 1788,⁴ but under a somewhat new title—the *New Asiatic Miscellany and Bengal Register*.

This proved to be the last Number of the periodical. In January 1789, came out the notice that “the Proprietors. . . . beg leave to acquaint their subscribers that they are obliged to relinquish it.”⁵

Two months after this, in March 1789, another quarterly publication was announced (to be published since April next) with almost identical title (*The New Asiatic Miscellany*) and objectives.⁶ But no subsequent notice is available as to whether this at all came out or not.

2. *Calcutta Gazette*, January 10, 1788 ; November 22, 1787.

3. *Ibid.*, May 1, 1788.

4. *Ibid.*, July 17, 1788.

5. *Ibid.*, January 1, 1789.

6. *Ibid.*, March 12, 1789, advertisement.

THE CALCUTTA CHRONICLE AND GENERAL ADVERTISER (1786)

The Calcutta Chronicle and General Advertiser came into publication in January 1786.¹

The period of publication of the *Calcutta Chronicle* covered the first years of the French Revolution and the observations in this paper on that great historical upheaval reveals the political beliefs of the editor :

(a) "The revolution in France has in its influence pervaded all Europe under false notions of liberty : the most unbounded anarchy and licentiousness are likely to take place in those countries, where hitherto despotism has rode triumphant." (February 28, 1792).

(b) "The National Convention present a spectacle of all others the most hideous. . . . It seems to be the Pandemonium described by Milton." (March 12, 1793).

Due to bad management or too much indulgence to the defaulting subscribers and advertisers, by the end of 1792, bills for Rs. 60,000/- fell in arrear.² Repeated appeals to the defaulters were made to clear up the arrears.³ Possibly these appeals went unheeded and ultimately the proprietors disposed of the *Calcutta Chronicle* to newer hands and we get the following notice :⁴

1. We get this date by back calculation from the first available copy, issue of September 3, 1789, bearing issue number 189.
2. *Calcutta Chronicle*, November 27, 1792.
3. Ibid., issues of the 4th to 25th of December, 1792.
4. Ibid., November 4, 1793.

"The Public are hereby respectfully informed, that the Property of the *Calcutta Chronicle*, has been transferred by Purchase to new Proprietors....."

This change of proprietors however did not cause any alteration in the editorial view of the *Calcutta Chronicle*. Only the day of publication was altered—it would now be published on Mondays, instead of Thursdays.⁵

The *Calcutta Chronicle* went off publication in 1797⁶ and we get the following advertisement in the *Calcutta Gazette* on February 1, 1798 :

"To be sold by Public Auction.....on Tuesday, the 13th instant... Types, Press etc. of the Chronicle office..."

5. Ibid.

6. Kathleen Blechynden, *Calcutta Past and Present*, London (1905), p. 184.

THE ASIATIC MIRROR AND COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER (1788)

The *Asiatic Mirror and Commercial Advertiser* came into publication in February 1788.¹ It had the motto inscribed on it—"Nothing extenuate nor hold up Light in Malice." In 1799 *Asiatic Mirror* was edited by Mr. C. K. Bruce and Dr. Shoolbred² and possibly they also owned it. In the days of Lord Wellesley's administration, once the *Asiatic Mirror* created a great sensation which is thus recorded in the columns of the *Samachar Durpan*³ :

".....there appeared in the *Asiatic Mirror*.....a short article.....in which it was observed that compared with the mass of the native population, the English were a mere handful, and that if each man were to cast a pebble at us, we should be overwhelmed. This article.....caught the eye of the Chief Secretary, and great was the consternation which pervaded the Government offices. The article was considered seditious ; the paper was instantly suppressed, and the proprietors (we believe Dr. Shoolbred and Mr. C. K. Bruce) were directed to prepare to leave the country. On their very humble submission, and a solemn promise that no such injudicious remarks should be suffered to appear again, the paper was restored, and the proprietors allowed to remain in India and continue their labours."

• In 1817 Rev. Bryce, the Presbyterian Chaplain of the East

1. We get this date by back calculation from the issue of May 22, 1793, bearing Number 276.
2. *Friend of India*, February 1, 1838, p. 33.
3. *Samachar Durpan*, November 5, 1834.

India Company, was the editor and the managing proprietor of the *Asiatic Mirror* and he then had a series of encounter with the Censor of the Press, Chief Secretary John Adam, over the application of the rules of censorship.⁴ In the estimation of James Silk Buckingham, the editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, the *Asiatic Mirror* under management of Dr. Bryce was "sound in politics, pure and spiritual in religion, full of benevolence and goodwill to men, but gloomy and foreboding, and loving to speculate on abstract principles, rather than to gratify the appetite for minute details of passing events."⁵

In May 1820, the *Asiatic Mirror* went off publication and we get the following notice of it in the *Madras Courier*⁶ :

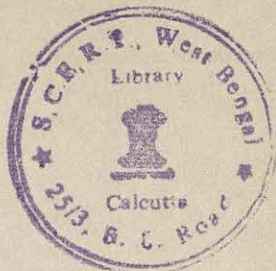
"Newspaper Discontinued etc. : The '*Asiatic Mirror*' long edited with considerable ability has been withdrawn..."

4. Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1834, Vol. 8, Paper 601 ; Appendix p. 113.

5. *Calcutta Journal*, August 8, 1820, p. 466.

6. *Madras Courier*, May 23, extracted in the *Asiatic Journal*, December 1820, Asiatic Intelligence, p. 612.

S. C. E. R. T., West Bengal
Date..... 27.2.91
Acc. No. 4889



THE CALCUTTA MONTHLY REGISTER AND INDIA REPOSITORY (1790)

From an advertisement in the *Calcutta Gazette* on July 14, 1791, we get that this monthly periodical came out first in December 1790, owned and edited by Lieut. Henry M'kenly. Through this advertisement M'kenly in presenting his compliments to his subscribers communicated to them that "he finds it necessary to publish each Number in future, not at the beginning but about the middle of every month—No. VIII (issue for June, 1791) will in consequence be published on or about the 15th instant."

The regularity in the publication of this periodical became disturbed due to M'kenly's involvement in a trial for high treason¹ and he adverted to this in the *Calcutta Gazette* on July 28, 1791, thus :

"Lieut. Henry M'kenly from much of his time having been taken up in the uneasy and disagreeable situation he has been led into, by the circumstances, attending a late trial, is induced to hope his subscribers will indulge him, by receiving the number of his work for June and July, together, in the month of August,—and which he shall use every endeavour to get out as early as possible in the month."

We get no indication if these belated Numbers came out at all. Possibly the publication was given up. Years after this, in 1796, we learn from an advertisement in the *Calcutta Gazette* (March 3) that M'kenly was then editing the *Bengal Directory*.

1. Details of the case given out in a letter to the editor in the *Calcutta Gazette*, November 3, 1791.

THE CALCUTTA MAGAZINE (1791)

This was thus advertised in the *Calcutta Gazette* on September 15, 1791 :

"On Monday the 3rd of October next will be published No. 1 of a Periodical Work, to be continued monthly under the Title of the *Calcutta Magazine*. . . . Each Number shall be printed in the same . . . plan, as the most approved Magazines now published in Europe. . . . To Subscribers, the price of this Magazine will be exactly Thirty Rupees per Annum. To Non-subscribers each Number will be charged three rupees. . . ."

Mr. James White, at 51 Cossitollah, was the publisher for the *Calcutta Magazine*.¹

The first Number of the *Magazine* came out on October 3rd, 1791, but under an altered title—*Calcutta Magazine and Asiatic Museum*.²

The Second Number came out on November 3rd, 1791, with a new title—*Calcutta Magazine and Oriental Museum*.³

We get the last mention of this magazine in the *Calcutta Gazette* on February 21, 1793.

Possibly this periodical was given up by Mr. White as he undertook the publication of a new periodical—The *Calcutta Monthly Journal*.⁴

1. *Calcutta Gazette*, October 27, 1791.

2. *Ibid.*, September 29, 1791.

3. *Ibid.*, October 27, 1791.

4. *Ibid.*, November 6, 1794, advertisement.

THE WORLD (1791)

On October 15, 1791, Saturday, came out the *World*. It in fact came out of the ashes of the *Bengal Journal*. In that very year William Duane, a co-proprietor and editor of the *Bengal Journal* became involved in a trouble and was ordered by the Government to be transhipped out of India; the order was ultimately rescinded.¹ But the *Bengal Journal* had, in consequence of the troubles, to be given up. Then Mr. William Duane started the *World*.

In the "Address" with the first issue of the paper the editor gave out the prospectus :

".....on the introduction of this paper, a very full explanation of its plan may be expected; and it will be given, in order to show, what species of matter it shall not contain, as well as what it shall.....It is the opinion of the Editor, that all subjects whatever, ought, of right to be publicly, openly, and undoubtedly discussed; but this opinion he urges only as a Citizen of the World. The interests of particular communities....restrict such discussions....The nature of the British Government in India argues conclusively against interfering with its political operations.....Political interference with the measures of Government, therefore, as well as subject tending to invade the domestic threshold, or in any respect bordering on the nature of libel, will be studiously and rigidly rejected in this Paper. To other topic, it is open.....It will be only necessary to pay that attention to the friends of the paper, in the merchantile line. The rate

1. This has been discussed under the title the *Bengal Journal*.

of advertisement shall be same as the Monday's and Thursday's papers, as well as the rate of subscription, and postage."

According to the editor himself the *World* became popular.² But while conducting it William Duane made an attempt to revive the *Bengal Journal*.³ The attempt did not succeed and he carried on with the *World*. As with the *Bengal Journal* so with the *World*, Duane became involved in troubles. The Government of Sir John Shore became highly displeased with Duane for "a number of improper and intemperate articles and particularly an inflammatory address to the army."⁴ Ultimately he was sent by Government out of India to Europe, at the end of 1794.⁵

Possibly with deportation of William Duane the *World* came to an end and we get the following sale notice in the *Calcutta Gazette* (on January 1, 1795) :

"To be sold by Public Auction.....This day, Thursday the 1st January.....(on account of a Mortgage).....Printing Office of the *World*..."

2. *World*, January 7, 1792; "An Address to the Public".

3. *Ibid.*, January 5, 1793; 'To the Public'.

4. Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1834, Vol. 8; Appendix X (2), p. 111.

5. *Ibid.*

THE CALCUTTA EVENING POST AND THE CALCUTTA MORNING POST (1792)

On April 24, 1792 (*in the Calcutta Chronicle*), came out the advertisement for a new weekly paper—the *Calcutta Evening Post* :

“Proposals for publishing an Evening Paper...The *Calcutta Evening Post*.....by Thompson and Ferris, at No. 9, Bow Bazar. This paper together with being a faithful Register of the most important transactions of the World at large, will contain Essays, Poetry, etc. etc. and all the Intimations of Government, inserted regularly as they occur. All Matter of a scandalous Tendency will be totally rejected...delivered to Subscribers every Thursday Evening before Seven O’Clock.....Subscription Twenty Six Sicca Rupees yearly.....All Advertisements will be charged Six Annas per line.....The first number to be published on the Third of May next.....”

Possibly shortly after appearance the title of this new Weekly was altered, as the *Calcutta Morning Post*.¹ After about a

1. The ground for this supposition is that we do not get further mention of the *Calcutta Evening Post*. Considering the short interval between the date of advertisement and the publicised date of appearance we are reasonably to hold that the appearance took place as advertised. Then, since May or June 1792, we get the *Calcutta Morning Post*. We get this time for appearance of the *Calcutta Morning Post* by back calculation as we have its issue of February 23, 1810 bearing No. 928. This *Morning Post* was owned and printed by Greenway, Thompson and Ferris (the last two were also the proprietors and printers for the *Evening Post*) as we learn from S. Natarajan’s *A His-*

year, in June 1793, the *Morning Post* underwent a change in size and also got a new editor as we learn from the *Calcutta Chronicle* (June 25, 1793). In 1810 we get it published on Fridays, printed by Ferris.²

Judged by the standard of those days the *Calcutta Morning Post* was a successful paper—it was in publication till the end of September 1818. In May 1817, the copyright of the *Calcutta Morning Post* was put to auction sale by order of the Trustees of Messrs. Ferris and Company.³ Possibly the buyer was one Mr. Heatly who also subsequently purchased the *Calcutta Gazette* and then amalgamated the *Calcutta Gazette Press* and the *Morning Post Press* into the *Union Press*.⁴

In September 1818, the *Calcutta Morning Post* and the *Calcutta Gazette* merged into a new paper, the *Calcutta Journal*.⁵

The *Calcutta Journal* came out in October, 1818. But by this time the *Morning Post* lost all its popularity and had only 23 subscribers.⁶

In an assessment of the defunct *Calcutta* papers in 1820 James Silk Buckingham wrote of the *Morning Post*⁷ that it was “conducted by a gentleman of acknowledged talents and unimpeachable integrity in the Hon’ble Company’s Service, and devoted almost exclusively to the furtherance of philanthropic and benevolent objects and to the maintenance and propagation of Christianity.”

tory of the Press in India, Bombay, 1962, p. 24. It is unlikely that Ferris and Thompson would be carrying on two papers simultaneously. They either gave up the *Evening Post* or changed the title to the *Morning Post*, the later course is more likely of the two.

2. *Calcutta Morning Post*, 1810.

3. *Government Gazette*, May 22, 1817, advertisement.

4. *Calcutta Gazette*, June 18, 1818; advertisement.

5. *Ibid.*, September 29, 1818.

6. *Calcutta Journal*, December 15, 1818, pp. 480-81.

7. *Ibid.*, August 8, 1820, p. 466.

THE ORIENTAL STAR (1793)

The *Oriental Star* came in publication in 1793.¹ It also, like the *World*, arose out of the ruins of the *Bengal Journal*. In 1791 William Duane, the editor of the *Bengal Journal*, got into troubles over a paragraph in that paper and in consequence the publication of the *Bengal Journal* ceased and its proprietary right along with the Press was put up for auction sale.² The sale could not take place and from the following notice in the *World* on January 5, 1793, then under William Duane it so appears that the partners amicably apportioned the property amongst themselves and two of them started the *Oriental Star* :

“.....The concernments of the *Bengal Journal*, are somewise known, that paper is relinquished with a hope that the disgrace with which it has been treated for several months past would be forgotten with its title ;—it was advertised to be sold, that sale was prevented by a seasonable notification to the public ; a private bargain was struck up between the holders and two of themselves, and forth the types of the old Paper now come under a new name..... The Star a more fit title.....than the *Bengal Journal*, upon which the public had fixed that stigma of contempt which had rendered the name odious.....”

* Next we get mention of the *Oriental Star*, in connection with the auction sale of its share which was notified through the

1. *Calcutta Courier*, 14th March, 1840, *A biographical notices of English Newspapers*.

2. This has been discussed under the title the *Bengal Journal*.

following advertisement in the *Calcutta Gazette* on February 1, 1798 :

"To be sold by Public Auction.....on Thursday, the 15th instant.....one half share of the Types, Presses etc. etc. of the *Oriental Star*.....together with one half of the Copy Right....."

The new management changed the day of publication from Saturday to Sunday, to be effective from Sunday, the 7th of April, 1799, with the following advertisement in the *Calcutta Gazette* on April 4 :

"The circulation of the *Oriental Star* being considerably obstructed by the publication of another paper on the same day, the Proprietor hopes.....(the subscribers) will have no objection to his altering the day of publication from Saturday to Sunday; exclusive of the above cause..... there is another reason which he presumes will have some weight with his subscribers; the *Madras Gazette* has, of late, seldom arrived in *Calcutta* until Saturday, and the news from that quarter.....is generally withheld.....until Monday morning;—he therefore hopes they will feel no dissatisfaction at a change which will.....also enable the Proprietor to offer them that latest *Madras* intelligence in addition to other news of the week.

"As the property of the *Oriental Star* (which was first purchased as a mere temporary convenience) is now become an object of serious consideration to the Proprietor, he takes this opportunity of assuring his Friends and the Public, that his whole attention shall in future be directed to establish the best correspondence, and.....a correct and authentic channel of foreign and domestic intelligence....."

The *Oriental Star*, in spite of all these, had no smooth sailing and on July 10, 1800, it was advertised (in the *Calcutta Gazette*) that "The Copy Right of the *Oriental Star* together with the Types, Presses etc. etc." would be sold by public auction. From another advertisement in the same paper on July 31, we get that this was necessary to meet the "outstanding Debts" of the concern, and thus it again passed off into new hands.

In 1820 the *Oriental Star* was converted into a daily paper, in fact the third daily newspaper in India—two others being the *Bengal Hircarrah* (the original spelling for the *Bengal Harkaru*) and the *Calcutta Journal*. We get the following advertisement of this conversion in the *Government-Gazette* on May 25, 1820 :

"A New Daily Paper : On the 1st of June, will be published, to be continued daily (except Sunday) The *Oriental Star*, or *Annals of Politics, Literature, Science etc.*, subscription Four Rupees per Month."

The daily *Oriental Star* could not carry on at this low subscription rate and went off publication very shortly. Commenting on this the *Calcutta Journal* on August 8, 1820, observed :

".....the *Star* having most of the requisites for success, moderately advocating civil and religious liberty and promoting useful knowledge, but valuing Science rather than News, and not suiting its contents to the rank and class of those among whom its cheap price fitted it peculiarly to find a wide circulation.....the price was not sufficiently high to cover.....disbursements.....became embarrassed and in debt.....ultimately obliged to be broken up."

THE CALCUTTA MONTHLY JOURNAL (1794)

On November 1, 1794, came out the *Calcutta Monthly Journal* and we get the following advertisement of it in the *Calcutta Gazette* on November 6, 1794 :

"In consequence of the considerable expense which attends on sending Newspapers etc. to Europe James White, Printer, begs leave to inform his Friends and the Public that he has now published. A Monthly Journal containing all the material News in the Calcutta, Madras and Bombay Prints, in as small a compass as the subject will admit, particularly adapted to the conveniency of those who wish to transmit the News of this country to the Friends at home."

It was priced at one Rupee per copy.

It so appears from an advertisement in the *Calcutta Gazette* on September 22, 1796, that on the death of J. White the proprietorship of the *Calcutta Monthly Journal* changed hands and in 1800 we find it in the hands of the proprietor of the *Bengal Hircarrah*¹ (*Bengal Harkaru* of the later days) who announced a new plan² for the periodical which would now contain the following items besides selections and summary of intelligence :

- (a) "Original articles in the arts or sciences, which may possess sufficient merit, utility and novelty to make it interesting or instructive to their readers."
- (b) "Biographical sketches of eminent and conspicuous men, whose lives are peculiarly connected with India."

1. *Calcutta Monthly Journal*, Volume for 1800, Title page.

2. *Ibid.*, Volume for 1800 ; Address (prefatorial address), pp. i-ii.

- (c) "Short Essays of peculiar merit on local and particularly on statistical subjects."

In 1809 proprietorship of the *Journal* passed on to Messrs. Scott and Company,³ the proprietors of the *India Gazette* Press, who carried it on successfully till about the end of 1835. In the meantime, in 1833, a new Series of the *Journal* was commenced which was thus advertised in the *India Gazette* (February 21, 1833) :

"Just Published the *Calcutta Monthly Journal* for January 1833, being a Register of occurrences in the East. This work is now published in small Octavo...and is particularly adapted for persons in Europe desirous of receiving information relative to affairs in India."

In December 1835, Messrs. Samuel Smith and Co. became the new proprietors for this *Journal*⁴ and they commenced further a new Series of the work in January 1838 and we get the following notice in the *Friend of India* on March 22, 1838 :

"We have been favoured with a copy of this work for the month of January...which was just issued from the Harkaru Press....In Mr. Smith's (Mr. Samuel Smith, proprietor of Messrs. Samuel Smith and Co., which owned the *Bengal Harkaru* newspaper) hands it has become a work of far higher value. It is now an admirable repository of intelligence upon a well arranged system, and as a work of reference, has not its equal under this Presidency. The present number commences a new series which it is intended to enrich by original articles...."

In 1838 its monthly circulation was calculated to be 200 copies,⁵ quite respectable by the standard of the time.

The *Calcutta Monthly Journal* under the proprietorship of Messrs. Samuel Smith and Co. was carried on till the end of 1841 when it was finally given up. We get no further mention of it.

3. Ibid., November 1809, Title page.

4. *Calcutta Monthly Journal*, December 1835, Title page.

5. *Bengal Harkaru*, November 10, 1838.

THE BENGAL HARKARU (1795)

In the *Calcutta Gazette* on January 15, 1795, came out the following advertisement for the appearance of a new hebdomadal :

"The *Bengal Hircarrah* :¹ On Tuesday, the 20th instant will be published, At the Oriental Star office, A Weekly paper..... Subscription, at Fifty two Sicca Rupees per Annum or Thirteen Sicca Rupees per quarter (exclusive of postage)"

Accordingly it came out. After a few years the day of publication was changed to Saturday.² Finally it became a daily paper since April 29, 1819.³ We get further—"In its political intelligence the *Bengal Harkaru* follows the impartial path of the *Morning Herald*, now one of the most popular paper in London and lays before its readers the best information on both sides, which it has the means of obtaining from the *Morning Chronicle*, the *Courier*, the *Times*....."

Initially the *Bengal Harkaru* was possibly under the proprietorship of Manual Cantopher.⁴ But not long after its establishment, in February 1798, "One half of the copy right" along with "one half of the Debts due to the concern" were put to auction sale through Tulloh and Co.⁵ In 1799 when the Press Regulations of Lord Wellesley were enforced we get it

1. Subsequently *Hircarrah* was spelled as *Harkaru*.

2. *Bengal Harkaru*, February 1, 1825.

3. (a) *Ibid*.

(b) *Government Gazette*, August 3, 1820, Advertisement.

4. *Calcutta Gazette*, January 15, 1795.

5. *Ibid.*, February 1, 1798, advertisement.

under the proprietorship of William Hunter.⁶ Subsequently it passed under the proprietorship of Samuel Greenway.⁷ In May 1821, Samuel Smith was admitted into the partnership of the firm Samuel Greenway & Co. which now became known as Greenway and Smith and owned the *Bengal Harkaru*.⁸ In this very year Samuel Smith became the sole proprietor of the paper.⁹

We have no definite idea of the number of copies it had then in circulation. However, in 1829, it had 750 copies in daily circulation.¹⁰ Again in 1833, J. H. Stockqueler, the proprietor-editor of the *John Bull* could calculate its circulation, on subscription, at 882 copies daily, with the following professional break up of the subscribers :¹¹

(a) Civil—	:	136
(b) Military—	:	308
(c) Legal—	:	24
(d) Clerical—	:	3
(e) Medical—	:	51
(f) Mercantile—	:	206
(g) Miscellaneous—	:	154

882¹²

As to the reason for this high popularity Stocqueler wrote¹³ —“It is sufficient to observe that the *Harkaru* is thoroughly

6. S. Natarajan, op. cit., p. 24.

7. *Friend of India*, January 10, 1839, p. 32.

8. W.H. Carrey, *The Good Old Days of Honorable John Company*, Calcutta (1906), Vol. I, p. 331.

9. *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine and Review*, No. III, 1833, October, p. 408.

10. *Bengal Harkaru*, November 25, 1829. According to the same source of information *India Gazette* (daily edition) and the *John Bull* had then 350 and 100 copies respectively in circulation.

11. *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine and Review*, No. III, October, 1833, p. 409.

12. At the same period the *India Gazette* (daily and ter-weekly edition), the *Calcutta Courier* (daily and half-weekly edition), and the *John Bull* (daily) respectively had 522, 400 and 281 copies in circulation ; *ibid.*, p. 405, 423 and 415 respectively.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 409.

radical in its principles, adopting as the basis of its operation the Benthamite maxim of 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number', its editorial department is wealthy in ability, its resources of intelligence are extensive, its correspondents on all public questions numerous and often talented and its costume ... highly respectable."

The *Bengal Harkaru* was then under the editorial management of James Sutherland—"a nervous and powerful writer—brief, enthusiastic and always to the point."¹⁴

The *Bengal Harkaru* met with a formidable rival in the *Englishman* under management of J. H. Stocqueler who by his decided opposition to Lord William Bentinck's half-batta measures could draw the military subscribers to his paper at the cost of both the *Bengal Harkaru* and the *India Gazette*.¹⁵ This went on for some years and we get reflection of the comparative popularity of the *Bengal Harkaru* and the *Englishman* (the *India Gazette* became merged with the *Bengal Harkaru* by this time) in the figures for dak circulation of the two papers in 1837 and 1838 (figures for total circulation are not available)¹⁶ :

	January 1837 :	February 1838 :
<i>Bengal Harkaru</i>	227	317
<i>Englishman</i>	376	570

Neither the *Bengal Harkaru* nor the *Englishman* could however become popular with the natives. In 1843 Rev. James Long could ascertain the native subscribers for the both—only at 20 and 25 respectively.¹⁷

In course of its long period of life under the proprietorship of Messrs. Samuel Smith and Co., the *Bengal Harkaru* secured into itself the absorption of many reputed papers and periodicals. Thus, in May 1825, the *Scotsman in the East* merged with it. Then, in December 1827, the *Bengal Chronicle* became absorbed with the *Bengal Harkaru* which now became titled as the *Bengal Harkaru and Chronicle*. In September

14. *India Review*, June 1838, p. 124.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 125.

16. *Friend of India*, March 1, 1838, p. 69.

17. *Ibid.*, April 10, 1851, p. 230.

1834, Dwarkanath Tagore purchased the *India Gazette* and merged it with the *Bengal Harkaru* and since then it became titled as the "*Bengal Harkaru & Chronicle with which is incorporated the India Gazette.*" Finally, in 1843, the *Bengal Herald* merged with it and became its Weekly Supplement.

In the middle of fifties Mr. Samuel Smith became severely involved in financial troubles as evident from the following news-item dated August 19, 1855, in the *Hindoo Patriot* on August 23, 1855 :

"The Calcutta Correspondent of the *Cawnpore Central Star* states it as a matter of general belief that the *Harkaru* will soon change both owner and editor. That the concern will go to the hammer, is evident."

Subsequent to this we get from the same source (on October 11, 1855) :

"The *Harkaru* has changed proprietors. Mr. Samuel Smith's interest in the concern has been sold by the Sheriff, and the new purchaser has notified...that the *Harkaru* will henceforth be conducted with energy and independence."

The New proprietor engaged Mr. P. Saunders (Sr.) as the new editor for the *Harkaru* since January 2, 1856.¹⁸ Association of Mr. P. Sanuders (Sr.) with the *Harkaru* did not last long, and he possibly went to the *Englishman* on Mr. W. C. Hurry's (proprietor and editor of that paper) quitting India on ground of health.¹⁹ The editor for the *Harkaru* whom we meet next was Mr. Blanchard who conducted the paper till the end of our period under its proprietor, Mr. W. Sims.²⁰

During the days of *Mutiny* in 1857 the *Bengal Harkaru* got involved into troubles under the provisions of Act XV of 1857. The proprietor obtained license for publication of the paper under provisions of that Act and then the editor violated the terms through an editorial titled "Extreme Measure" on September 5, 1857. By a letter on September 11, 1857, C. Beadon Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, issued

18. *Bengal Harkaru*, January 14, 1856.

19. *Morning Chronicle*, January 24, 1856.

20. Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1857-58, Vol. 43, Paper 253, pp. 63-64.

warning to the proprietor for cancellation of the license for any further observations or statements of like nature.²¹ But the warning was defied through publication of an editorial article on September 14 and a letter to the editor on September 15. Immediately license for publication of the paper was revoked and its publication ceased with this notice to the subscribers²² : "Dear Sirs, Owing to Government having taken offence at the tone assumed by *Harkaru*, we beg to inform you that we are unable to send you a copy of the journal until the further decision of the Indian Government be known. . . ." On this stern display of determination by Government the proprietor expressed regret and even offered a change in the editorial chair—to relieve Mr. Blanchard, the then editor.²³ The "law having been vindicated" a fresh license was issued by Government to the proprietor.²⁴ The *Bengal Harkaru* then reappeared and continued beyond 1857.

21. Ibid.

22. Extracted in the *Hindoo Patriot*, September 24, 1857, p. 305.

23. Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons 1857-58, Vol 43, Paper 253, pp. 63-64.

24. Ibid., p. 64.

THE INDIAN APOLLO (1795)

The *Indian Apollo*, a weekly periodical, came out on the 4th October, 1795.¹

We get the details of this periodical from an advertisement which appeared in the *Calcutta Gazette* on September 17, 1795 :

"On Sunday, the 4th of October next, will be published No. 1 of a Weekly Newspaper, to be continued on each succeeding Sunday under the title of the *Indian Apollo* . . . by Thomas Hollingbury, at the Mirror Press, No. 158, Chitpore Road."

The subscription rate was fixed at one rupee per number.²

We are in complete darkness as to the period for which this was published as we do not get any further reference of it. May be this was given up as Messrs. Hollingbury & Knellen undertook to publish the *Calcutta Courier*, a weekly paper, on each Sunday, at a cheaper rate, on a somewhat identical plan.³

1. W.H. Carrey, op. cit., p. 286.

2. Ibid., p. 286.

3. *Calcutta Gazette*, May 3, 1798, advertisement.

THE ASIATIC MAGAZINE (1798)

In the *Calcutta Gazette* on April 12, 1798, we get the following advertisement :

"*Asiatic Magazine* : The first Number of the above Work, for the present Month, will be published at the Bengal Hircarrah office, No. 7, Post Office Street, on or before the 4th May. Price to subscribers 4 Rupees, to Non-subscribers 6 Rupees....."

Accordingly came out the first Number of the *Asiatic Magazine* with the following contents¹ : (1) Introduction to the work ; (2) The Dubash or Peregrinations and Exploits of Suamoy, a native of Hindoostan ; being a collection of Fragments, supposed to have been written by himself ; (3) Curious Anecdotes of a French General, from the history of the campaigns of General Pichagru, a recent publication ; (4) Travels of a native in Terra Incognita ; (5) An account of the city of Pegue, and the temple Shoemadoo Praw, by Capt. Michael Symes ; (6) On the Religious Ceremonies of the Hindus, and of the Brahmas especially, by H. T. Colebrooke, Esqr. ; (7) Speech of Peter Moore, Esqr., at a Court of Proprietors of the East India Stock, held on the 5th of May, 1797, for the purpose of sanctioning Powers proposed to be given to Marquis Cornwallis by the Board of Control and a majority of the Court of Directors ; (8) Biography—Memoirs of Camille Desmoulins, etc. ; (9) Poetry ; (10) Political Review for the month of April ; (11) Civil Appointments, Government Notifications, Military Intelligence and Domestic Occurrences in

1. *Calcutta Gazette*, May 31, 1798, Advertisement.

Bengal, Madras, Bombay and all the subordinate Settlements throughout India.

Second Number of the *Asiatic Magazine* came in time in June, 1798.²

It is not known for how long the Asiatic Magazine survived and when it went off publication. But it was extinct before May 1799, when Lord Wellesley promulgated his Press Regulations and it was not one of the seven newspapers registered under the provisions of those Regulations.³

2. Ibid., June 21, 1798.

3. Natarajan, op. cit., p. 24.

THE CALCUTTA COURIER (1798)

In the *Calcutta Gazette* on May 3, 1798, we get the following advertisement :

"The *Calcutta Courier* : This paper will consist of one quarto sheet. It will be published Weekly on Sundays. The price to be only Eight Annas each Number. The first number will be published on Sunday next, the 6th of May Those who may be desirous of Subscribing will be please to send notice to Messrs. Hollingbury and Knelen, No. 3, Meera Jany Gully."

We have no definite information as to how long the *Calcutta Courier* lasted. But it was one of the seven newspapers in circulation at the time of promulgation of the Press Regulations of May 1799, and was registered under the provisions of those Regulations.¹

1. S. Natarajan, op. cit., p. 24.

THE RELATERS (1799)

In the *Calcutta Gazette* on March 28, 1799, we get the following advertisement for the *Relaters*, a bi-weekly paper (to be issued twice in a week), yet uncommon in India, standing in the name of John Howel, the "Junior Editor" and "public's most obedient and devoted Servant" :

"To the Public : It is an eventful period indeed, at which we solicit your patronage of a Work, for the early and faithful communication of those events.....We have chosen the title of the *Relaters*.....The price of each paper on a Half Sheet, printed with a new Type, Half a Sicca Rupee.....The *Relaters* will be printed on Sundays and Thursdays.....The advantage of receiving intelligence twice, for the same expense it is now procured once a Week, must be obvious to all. A tedious chasm and the necessity of copying intelligence published six days before, are both avoided by the arrangement. The first Number of the *Relaters* will issue on Thursday, the 4th of April next, from the office, No. 17, East Side of Tank Square, where it is printed for the proprietors....."

We get no further mention of this bi-weekly periodical. Considering the short interval between the date of the advertisement in the *Calcutta Gazette* (March 28, 1799) and the proposed day of its appearance we presume that the *Relaters* came out as advertised. However, it is most likely that this attempt for the first bi-weekly paper did not succeed well and it went off publication shortly after its appearance. H. E. Busteed who dealt with the periodical press of this period in his *Echoes from Old Calcutta*¹ is silent about the *Relaters*. This leads us to suppose that this was too shortlived to be known or named by Mr. Busteed.

1. H.E. Busteed, op. cit., pp. 151-178.

THE CALCUTTA TIMES (1814)

The *Calcutta Times* came into publication in 1814.¹ In an assessment of the contemporary periodicals in the *Calcutta Journal* on August 8, 1820, James Silk Buckingham wrote of it as "full of original writings, scientific, liberal, frank and metaphysical in religion and politics, inclining to scepticism in the one, and to pure democracy in the other, but always behind in News, and written often in an obscure and difficult style." Possibly it could not become popular. And this may go to explain complete silence of W. Carey over the *Calcutta Times* in his account of the Calcutta Press which contains mentions of many defunct papers and periodicals.²

We get the last reference of the *Calcutta Times* as in print in the *Calcutta Journal*, March 25, 1820. Possibly it went off publication shortly after that. For, the *Calcutta Journal*, August 8, 1820, referred to it as a defunct paper which could not stand the competition with the *Calcutta Journal*.

1. *Calcutta Courier*, March 9, 1840; *A biographical notice of those English Newspapers which have been and of those which are before the Calcutta public.*
2. William Carey, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 285-292.

THE GOVERNMENT GAZETTE (1815)

A Notification in the Public Department, Fort William, on May 2, 1815, gave out¹ :

“Orders having been issued, directing that the Printing Business of Government shall be transferred from the Calcutta Gazette Press to the Press established at the Military Orphan Society’s, notice is hereby given, that a Weekly Paper will be published at the Society’s Press from the commencement of the ensuing month, to be styled the *Government Gazette*.....”

To patronise the philanthropic cause of the Orphan Society it was further ordered that the officers of Government should send all Notifications and public advertisements for printing in the *Government Gazette*²—a monopoly so long enjoyed by the Calcutta Gazette.

Accordingly on June 2, 1815, Thursday, came out the *Government Gazette*. It was a general newspaper—like the other leading papers of the time, such as the *Bengal Harkaru*, the *India Gazette*, the *Calcutta Gazette*,—“inserting all the kind of intelligence which appears in other papers.”³

We have no definite information as to its circulation. But we may presume that enjoying the monopoly of printing Government Notifications and public advertisements it had a wide circulation. The only information we have on this point is that in March 1827, it had a dak circulation higher than other papers of the time⁴ :

1. Quoted in the *Government Gazette*, June 22, 1815.

2. Ibid.

3. *Bengal Harkaru*, June 10, 1829.

4. *Asiatic Journal*, July 1828, pp. 73-74.

<i>Government Gazette</i>	...	293	copies.
<i>John Bull</i>	...	259	"
<i>India Gazette</i>	...	254	"
<i>Bengal Harkaru</i>	...	188	"
<i>Bengal Chronicle</i>	...	158	"

Since the last week of September, 1823, a second issue per week was undertaken with the following notice (*Government Gazette*, September 29, 1833) :

"It is intended in future to publish the *Government Gazette* twice a week. The regular paper on Thursday as usual ; and a supplement every Monday evening, with all the General Orders passed by Government on the Council days immediately preceeding. This arrangement will put our readers in possession of the General Orders nearly three days earlier than on the former plan. . . . The amount of subscription will remain the same" (Rupees four per mensem).

This arrangement for publishing the General Orders only on Monday was of inconvenience to other papers such as the *India Gazette*, the *John Bull* and the *Bengal Harkaru* who used to copy these and hence an object of constant complain by those.⁵ Finally the Managers of the *Government Gazette* conceded and arranged to publish these both on Monday and Thursday.⁶

In March 1832, the *Government Gazette* was given up and we get the following notice of it (*Government Gazette*, March 29, 1832) :

"An official Notification...this day announces that after the present month, all Official Advertisements will appear in the *Calcutta Gazette*, a weekly publication to be devoted exclusively to that object. The Newspaper now designated The *Government Gazette*, will, consequently, cease after the present number, and in lieu thereof will be issued, on Wednesday and Saturday evenings, a paper without official character, under the name of the *Calcutta Courier*. The new *Gazette* and the *Courier* will both be published at the Press of the Military Orphan Society, which will continue to be the Government Press, upon a new arrangement...."

5. *Bengal Harkaru*, June 10, 1829.

6. *Ibid*, June 12, 1829.

THE CALCUTTA EXCHANGE GAZETTE AND DAILY ADVERTISER (1818)

The *Calcutta Exchange Gazette and Daily Advertiser* came into publication in April 1818.¹ In the *Bengal Herald*, in November, 1829, in a list of periodicals and presses in Calcutta we get mention of it as coming out daily (excepting Sunday) from the Calcutta Exchange Press owned by Messrs. Mackenzie Lyall and Co.² Besides being circulated in Calcutta, Barrackpore, Dum Dum and neighbourhood two copies of it in English and in Bengali (in translation) were "daily pasted at the outer door of the Exchange, the Bazar and other Public Places, for general information."³

We get the following notice of it in the *Friend of India* as to its nature and contents⁴ :

".....The *Calcutta Exchange Gazette*.....is but a collection of sheets rudely sewed together, carelessly printed, with wretched type, upon indifferent paper...it comes out daily.....(with) glowing advertisements of Hamilton and Co., Agents for Government presents.....short businesslike advertisements of spelter or teak wood,column after column of shipping advertisements.....'notifications' from the Administrator-General....(the) advertisements of Household furniture... 'silver plate', 'rosewood pipe glasses', 'round tables', 'scroll couches'....."

The *Calcutta Exchange Gazette* survived beyond 1857.

1. *Calcutta Exchange Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, April 2, 1841.
This is the first available copy and bears issue No. 6653. By back calculation we get this time.
2. *Bengal Herald*, November 29, 1829, p. 423.
3. *Calcutta Exchange Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, April 2, 1841.
4. *Friend of India*, December 2, 1852, pp. 772-773.

THE FRIEND OF INDIA (1818)

In May 1818, came out the *Friend of India*, a monthly periodical published by the Baptist Missionaries at Serampore as their mouthpiece, to replace the *Circular Letters*, a private publication of the Baptist-Missionary Society in India. The prospectus¹ gave out that this new publication would contain in general "whatever tends to the advancement of knowledge, virtue and religion..... information..... respecting the Languages of Eastern Asia.....(Review of)'Books published in India.....which in any degree bear on its welfare..... Original Papers, or Short Essays.....particularly if they contain any plan or hint likely to promote the welfare of the various countries around." But political transactions would be entirely beyond its province. The price was fixed at one rupee per number.

The contents of the first Number were :

1. A brief View of the Progress of religion in Bengal chiefly among the European part of the community, from the year 1758 to the present period ... pp. 1-17
2. Seventh Meeting of the Calcutta Bible Society ... „ 17-19
3. Intelligence from Europe etc. :
 - (a) The Thirteenth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1817 ... „ 20-24
 - (b) American Intelligence ... „ 25
 - (c) Miscellaneous : *Dig-durshuna*, a work in the Bengalee language ... „ 26

1. Prospectus quoted in the *Friend of India*, May 1818, pp. i-vi.

In a review of the work on completion of its first volume the *Calcutta Journal* (September 5, 1819) hailed it as a "highly useful Work" and "an auxiliary to the cause of religion and useful knowledge."

In December 1819, the announcement came out for conducting the periodical on a new plan—in two series, one monthly and the other quarterly² :

".....The former while it will not exclude shorter essayswill include.....a greater portion of intelligenceQuarterly Series will include the larger essays on subjects connected with India, a Review of such works as in any way affect the best interest of India or Eastern AsiaInformation of a literary and scientific nature, and occasionally such a View of things chiefly religious, as..... may accord with the spirit and design of a Quarterly work of this nature.....and the price of each Number will be Four Rupees....."

The first Number of the quarterly series came out in September 1820. Contents of this first Number were :

1. On the Isles of Japan.
2. On the Agriculture of India.
3. On the Borrowing System of the Natives.
4. Review of Rammohun Roy's precepts of Jesus.
5. On the Native Press in India.
6. Enquiries relative to the present state of Hindoo Temples.

In 1822 a Second edition of this first Number was published,³ we know not why. We have no information to suggest that this was due to great popularity of the periodical as a whole.

On commencement of this quarterly series, a general impression gained ground that the monthly series had been discontinued and even the Government Gazette on September 21, 1820, wrote editorially—"The Editors of the *Friend of India* have ceased to publish that interesting work monthly and have commenced upon a Quarterly Series which promises to be a

2. *Friend of India*, Monthly Series, November 1819, pp. 545-48.

3. *Government Gazette*, September 26, 1822, advertisement.

better arrangement." But this was not the fact and the two series—monthly and quarterly—were continued simultaneously.

In 1826, since the issue for April, some alterations were effected in the monthly series—its size was enlarged and the rate of subscription was also enhanced from rupee one to rupees one and half.⁴ Since then it continued for about two and half years more. The issue for September 1828, proved to be the last number of the monthly series.

The publication of the *Friend of India* in quarterly series was irregular almost since the beginning. In July or August 1826, came out the 15th Number of the issue.⁵ Since then only one more Number (the 16th Number) came out⁶ and with that the *Friend of India* ceased altogether for the present.

We get no indication from the Serampore Missionaries as to why these were given up. But according to a contemporary writer these were given up "for want of support".⁷

In January 1835, a weekly periodical under the title of the *Friend of India* appeared. But that came out of the ashes of the *Philanthrophist*⁸ and not out of the *Friend of India* of the olden days. The editor-proprietor of that paper, Rev. Hough, "failed in obtaining a support commensurate with the expense of his paper" therefore he disposed it of to John Marshman, Esqr. who changed the name to the *Friend of India*.⁹ The editorship of this new periodical then rested with Reverend Messrs. J. C. Marshman, J. Mack and J. Leechman.¹⁰

The *Friend of India* in this weekly series was not a Missionary periodical and this was thus clarified by the editors themselves¹¹ :

".....we still continue to think that which refers to the extension and success of Missions as by far the most impor-

4. *Friend of India* (Monthly Series), April 1826, "Avertisement", pp. 1-2.
5. *Government Gazette*, August 3, 1826, advertisement.
6. *Friend of India* (Quarterly Series), No. 16.
7. *India Review*, October 1839, p. 408.
8. *Asiatic Journal*, June 1835 ; *Asiatic Intelligence*, p. 89.
9. *India Review*, October 1839, p. 408.
10. *Asiatic Journal*, June 1835 ; *Asiatic Intelligence*, p. 89.
11. *Friend of India*, July 9, 1840, p. 433.

tant, and we shall continue to give it our humble, yet zealous support, but with the distinct understanding, that no Missionary body shall be considered answerable for any remarks which we may offer on this or any other topic. The *Calcutta Christian Observer* being published under the direction of a Committee of Missionaries, may be considered as bonafide a Missionary journal. In that sense, the *Friend of India* is not an organ of the Missionary cause."

The *Friend of India* in weekly series, could become highly popular and by 1839 it had more than 500 paying subscribers.¹²

In 1843 Rev. James Long could count 125 native subscribers for five English papers, of whom the highest number used to subscribe for the *Friend of India*¹³ :

<i>Eastern Star</i>	...	11
<i>Calcutta Star</i>	...	22
<i>Englishman</i>	...	25
<i>Bengal Harkaru</i>	...	20
<i>Friend of India</i>	...	47 ¹⁴

And these 47 included the elites of the society like Prusunocoomar Tagore, Ramgopaul Ghosh, Digumber Mitter, Raja Suttchurn Ghoshal and Russomoy Dutt.¹⁵

The *Friend of India* had also considerable number of subscribers both in England and in the Strait Settlements.¹⁶ According to the *Bombay Times*, "the high merits" of the *Friend of India* was a "source of general pride" and "a ground of gratulation to us all."¹⁷ And the *Hindoo Patriot* (August 14, 1856) wrote—"to that paper (the *Friend of India*) is due the credit of having reduced Indian politics to a system."

Quite naturally the *Friend of India* could attract the trade advertisers in large number but the management imposed a

12. *Friend of India*, April 18, 1839, p. 241.

13. *Ibid.*, April 10, 1851, p. 229.

14. This must be considered as a high figure particularly when we get that in the years of 1855, 1856 and 1857 the *Hindoo Patriot* had respectively 26, 30 and 36 subscribers only.

15. *Friend of India*, 1843, pp. 37, 213, 342, 487.

16. Certificates of posting issued by the Post Master General, Calcutta, quoted in the *Friend of India*, February 18, 1847, p. 99.

17. *Bombay Times*, October 14, 1846, quoted in the *Calcutta Star*, October 27, 1846.

self restriction on this source of income to uphold its high standard¹⁸—the “utmost limit we can afford for advertisements is three pages out of sixteen, and when the pages are full, our receipts from this source, on which our daily contemporaries both in England and India may be said to subsist does not amount to more than a twelfth part of our receipts from subscriptions.” This was something unique in that period.

On the outbreak of the disturbances of the Sepoy Mutiny, the *Friend of India* became clamorous for restrictions on the freedom of the native section of the press. The Act XV of 1857, however, made no distinction between the two sections of the press—the press under the native management and the same under the European management. The *Friend of India* duly obtained the license for publication and then violated its provisions in publishing the editorial article—The Centenary of Plassey (on June 25, 1857). Immediately the management got warning from the Government,¹⁹ which was defied through another editorial—The First Warning (on July 2, 1857). But before Government did take the final step to cancel the license the assurance came from the representatives of the absent proprietor (J. C. Marshman, who was then in England) “that the newspaper shall during his absence, be carried on so as to avoid all cause of complaint, and within the terms of the license.”²⁰

Nonetheless the *Friend of India* was uniformly in demand by the natives althrough the years of 1855 to 1857 as the number of subscribers would indicate²¹ :

In 1855	111 native subscribers.
In 1856	112 ” ”
In 1857	108 ” ”

The Friend of India was carried on beyond 1857.

18. *Friend of India*, October 1, 1846, p. 625.

19. Letter from C. Beadon, Esqr., Secretary to the Government of India, to the Secretary to Government of Bengal, Home Dept., dated June 29, 1857; Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1857-58, Vol. 43, Paper 253, p. 41.

20. Letter from C. Beadon Esq., to A.R. Young, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated July 3, 1857; *ibid.*, p. 44.

21. *Friend of India* used to acknowledge receipt of subscription in its columns and these have been counted therefrom.

THE ASIATIC MAGAZINE AND REVIEW AND LITERARY AND MEDICAL MISCELLANY (1818)

In the Government Gazette, on July 9, 1818, came out the advertisement for the imminent publication of a new quarterly periodical : "*The Asiatic Magazine and Review and Literary and Medical Miscellany.*" The list of contents in the first Number covered a wide range of subjects and topics¹ :

Original Communications :

- (i) Sketches of Lord Hasting's Campaigns.
- (ii) Malthus on the College at Hertford.
- (iii) Pearson's Memoirs of Claudius Buchanan.
- (iv) Chalmer's (of Glasgow) Sermon on the Death of Princess Charlotte.

Medical :

- (i) On the Indian mode of Couching for the Cataract.
- (ii) Cases showing the Efficiency of the Venesection in the Congestive Ferers.
- (iii) Review of Johnson on the Fever at Batavia.
- (iv) Pradier's Cataplasm, a celebrated remedy for the Gout.

Literary Miscellany :

- (i) Biographical sketches of Princess Charlotte.

1. *Government Gazette*, July 9, 1818, advertisement.

Literary Notices—European and Asiatic Poetry :

- (i) Satire in India.
- (ii) A Fragment Written in 1815.
- (iii) Monody on the Death of Princess Charlotte.

Besides these, there were—Political Intelligence, Parliamentary Notices, Domestic Occurrences (or Arrivals and Departures, Births, Marriages and Deaths), Commercial and Meteorological Tables, List of Civil and Military appointments.

Price per Number was fixed at rupees four for subscribers and rupees five for non-subscribers.

The first Number of the *Asiatic Magazine* came out on July 14, 1818.² This new publication was favoured with “a liberal share of patronage and encouragement from the public.”³ But nonetheless for some unspecified reasons the *Magazine* was given up after the publication of the 6th Number.⁴

2. *Calcutta Gazette*, July 14, 1818, advertisement.

3. *Calcutta Journal*, November 7, 1882, p. 95.

4. Ibid.

THE CALCUTTA JOURNAL OR POLITICAL, COMMERCIAL AND LITERARY GAZETTE (1818)

The last issue of the *Calcutta Gazette* (September 29, 1818) contained the following notice :

“To the Subscribers to the *Calcutta Gazette* and *Morning Post* Newspaper and to the Public at large : The Proprietors of the *Calcutta Gazette* and of the *Morning Post* being about to close these papers return thanks to their respective Subscribers and respectfully solicit both from them and from the Public in general, the continuance of the Patronage in favour of a New Paper to be substituted in their stead, the first Number of which will be published on Friday, the 2nd of October”

The periodical paper which came out on October 2, 1818, in keeping with the above is the *Calcutta Journal*. The prospectus for it ran thus¹ :

“The State of the Press has been a subject of surprise, of disappointment, and of regret, to all strangers on their first arrival in India Within the city of Calcutta alone there are no less than eight public Gazettes, each of them offering itself as the organ of public sentiment With the exception of two or three at most, these Journals are found however to have no sentiment, either of the public or of their own, on the leading features of the times It is proposed therefore to establish a Journal, which shall found its claim to public patronage on an exception from

1. *Calcutta Journal*, October 2, 1818 (unnumbered pages).

these defects. The proprietors of the *Calcutta Gazette* and of the *Morning Post* have determined to sink these papers, and to substitute in their stead an entirely New Journal, to be published on the same days on which these Prints have hitherto appeared (Tuesday and Friday) and to issue from the same Press (Union Press).....the price to subscribers shall be at the usual rate of a rupee for each Paper, but to Quarterly Subscribers it will be supplied at the reduced rate of six rupees per month....."

We get the background story of the commencement of the *Calcutta Journal* from James Silk Buckingham, the proprietor-editor of the paper, in his examination before the Select Committee on the Suppression of the *Calcutta Journal*.² That reveals predominating mercantile interest in setting it up.

The *Calcutta Journal* first appeared as a weekly paper but within a period of four months it was made a ter-weekly in January, 1819.³ Not long after this two more Numbers per week were added.⁴ Finally since July 2, 1819, it was made a Daily with the following notice (*Calcutta Journal* June 19, 1819) :

"From the 1st of July next, the *Calcutta Journal* will be published every day in the week, with the exception of Mondays, forming twenty-six Numbers in the course of a month."

On March 12, 1820, a Literary Supplement to the *Calcutta Journal* was commenced under the title—the *Calcutta Journal of Literature, Science and the Arts*.⁵ This however did not last long and was given up after June, 1820.

Since March 1, 1821, an evening edition of the *Calcutta*

2. Reply to Question No. 613 of the examination of J.S. Buckingham on July 1, 1834; Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1834. Vol. 8, Paper 601, pp. 50-51.

3. *Calcutta Journal*, January 29, 1819, p. 239.

4. *Government Gazette*, April 15, 1819, advertisement for the *Calcutta Journal*.

5. *Calcutta Journal of Literature, Science and the Arts*, March 12, 1820.

Journal was published under the title—The *Bengal Evening Post*.⁶

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The *Calcutta Journal* shot up to popularity instantaneously on its appearance—"At the close of this first month of our labours.....our subscribers doubled since our first outset⁷we may fairly indulge the hope that it will continue under more auspicious circumstances....."⁸ The popularity of the *Calcutta Journal* went on increasing and in January 1823 it had nearly 1000 subscribers.⁹ This was in spite of the fact that the subscription rate for the *Calcutta Journal* was the highest then. From the moderate rate of Rs. 6/- per mensem¹⁰ it went upto Rs. 16/- per mensem.¹¹ A cheaper edition on China paper was however available at Rs. 10/- per mensem.¹²

The immediate cause of this popularity of the *Calcutta Journal* was possibly the editorial preference for local intelligence. Thus we get in the columns of the *Calcutta Journal* (October 27, 1818) :

"In the selection of materials of the columns of the *Calcutta Journal* great pains have been taken to render it less dependent on European information than the Indian papers usually are, and to fill up the void occasioned by a dearth of intelligence from home, with original documents bearing chiefly on questions of interest in India....."

This preference for items of local interest was in fact the

6. Prospectus enclosed with the *Calcutta Journal*, February 26, 1821, unnumbered page.
7. The *Calcutta Journal* commenced with a total of 203 Subscribers—180 of the subscribers of the *Calcutta Gazette* and 23 of those of the *Morning Post*; *Calcutta Journal*, December 15, 1818, pp. 480-81.
8. *Calcutta Journal*, October 27, 1818, pp. 128-29.
9. Reply to Question No. 97 of examination of Buckingham on May 18, 1826; Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1834, Vol. 8, Paper 601, p. 6.
10. *Calcutta Journal*, October 2, 1818, Prospectus, unnumbered pages.
11. Reply to Question No. 99 of examination of Buckingham on May 18, 1826, Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1834, Vol. 8, Paper 601, p. 6.
12. *Calcutta Journal*, December 27, 1821, p. 587.

outcome of Buckingham's conception of the aims of Journalism as we get it in the *Calcutta Journal*¹³ :

"In conformity with the maxim we have constantly maintained, that the chief end and aim of a Public Journal should be to promote the welfare of the country in which it is published, and that all other objects should be secondary to this, we have devoted a larger portion of our space to matters of local interest than any of our contemporaries....."

Buckingham as the editor of the *Calcutta Journal* did not "confine himself to a particular line of politics" rather he was something like a free lancer—"it is duty of an editor to be sincere, to say clearly and unequivocally what he does really think and feel, and not to shape his expression in any particular manner, or depart in any respect from truth, with a view to please any particular party."¹⁴

This might also be one of the reasons for the popularity of the *Calcutta Journal*.

The *Calcutta Journal* under Buckingham's editorship became headlong engaged in clash with the Government and its officials which, however, during the administration of Lord Hastings ended in warnings or prosecutions in Court of Law.

Personal safety of Buckingham as editor of the *Calcutta Journal* also became involved in hazards twice. First, in the hands of one Mr. Darwell, for the "Proceedings of the General Vestry Meeting of Inhabitants of Calcutta, assembled at the Town Hall on the 23rd September 1819" published in the *Calcutta Journal* on 30 September, 1819.¹⁵ Secondly, in the hands of Dr. Jamieson for the editorial remark in the columns of the *Calcutta Journal* over his appointment as Superintendent of the school for native doctors. He had to fight a duel with Dr. Jamieson over this which however ended without injury to any one.¹⁶

Things came to a crisis during the administration of John Adam as temporary Governor General of India. The office

13. Ibid., April 27, 1821, p. 683.

14. Ibid., March 24, 1821, p. 286.

15. Ibid., October 2, 1819, p. 247.

16. Ibid., August 7, 1822, p. 521.

of the Clerk of the Committee of Stationery, an office with handsome allowance, was conferred by Government on Rev. Dr. James Bryce, Presbyterian Chaplain of the East India Company, then probably the editor of the *John Bull*, the bitterest opponent of the *Calcutta Journal*, as a measure by John Adam "to reward handsomely those who had been most active and most violent in their opposition to the freedom of the press in India."¹⁷ As an announcement to this a tender notice under the signature of Dr. Bryce as Clerk of Stationery Committee came out in the evening of February 6, 1823, in an "Appendix to the *Government Gazette*"¹⁸ and the *Calcutta Journal* immediately came out with a bantering comment on this combination of appointments. Government now cancelled Buckingham's license for residence in India and directed him to leave India by the 15th of April.¹⁹

On this Mr. Francis Sandys was engaged as editor of the *Calcutta Journal*.²⁰ His selection was due to the fact that he was an Eurasian and as such could not be deported out of India like James Silk Buckingham. In fact, however, the editorial management was entrusted jointly on Mr. Sandys, Mr. James Sutherland and Mr. S. Arnot.²¹

In compliance with the order from Government Mr. Buckingham left the shores of India on March 1, 1823, and the days of the *Calcutta Journal* also became numbered.

In August 1823, there appeared in the *Calcutta Journal* an article fixing the responsibility for Buckingham's, deportation on Rev. Dr. Bryce.²² Government took serious exception to this and in consequence Sandford Arnot was deported out of India.

17. Reply to Question No. 613 of examination of Buckingham on July 1, 1834; Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1834, Vol. 8, Paper 601, p. 70.

18. Appendix to the *Government Gazette*, February 6, 1823.

19. *Calcutta Journal*, February 14, 1823, p. 617.

20. *Ibid.*, February 15, 1823, p. 633.

21. Reply to Question No. 286 of examination of Buckingham on May 23, 1826, Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1834, Vol. 8, Paper 601, p. 16.

22. *Calcutta Journal*, August 30, 1823, pp. 833-837.

Subsequent to this Government by an order withdrew the license for publication of the *Calcutta Journal*, on November 9, 1823, and immediately it went off publication. The occasion for this was republication of Col. Licester Stanhope's pamphlet—Sketches of the history and influence of the Free Press in British India—in successive issues of the *Calcutta Journal*.²³

23. Ibid., October 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28 and 29, 1823.

THE INDIAN (1819)

On September 6, 1819, came out a new monthly periodical—*The Indian*.¹ In the prefatorial address in the first Number the editor gave out his aims and objectives thus² :

“.....I do not pretend to be able to satisfy all my readers in every particular, being a plain and honest man, I shall not hold out any hope, or make professions beforehand, to raise or disappoint the expectation of my readers.....To such of my fair readers, as may be induced generously to extend their patronage and protection to my humble labours, I shall devote the greater part of my time to afford them every rational amusement and pleasure in my power. My object in thus stepping forward, as a periodical writer, is simply to communicate entertainment.....to chase away the languor of a few leisure hours.....”

Possibly *The Indian* did not survive for long. We do not get any further mention of it.

1. *Calcutta Journal*, October 7, 1819, p. 287.

2. *Ibid.*

THE GOSPEL MAGAZINE (1819)

In December 1819, came out the *Gospel Magazine*, a bilingual monthly publication launched by the Bengal Auxiliary Missionary Society. The prospectus gave out the objectives and designs of the Magazine¹ :

“.....The *Gospel Magazine* proposes to tread, though at humble distance, in the steps of *Evangelical Magazine* (commenced in England in 1793).....main and special design in this undertaking is to promote the happiness and best interests, of the great mass of native inhabitants of Bengal.....The work will.....appear in Bengalee as well as English, the two languages occupying parallel columns.....everything of an acrimonious, irritating, dogmatical and angry kind will be studiously excluded.....(As) there are numbers of the natives who do not understand English and to whom the English columns would be of no advantage it is further proposed every alternate month to reprint two numbers containing only the Bengalee.....Each number will contain sixteen pages of letter-press, in Octavo, the price for a single copy Four Anas; and in order to encourage the circulation of the work among the Sircars and other Native Dependants of Merchants and Heads of Families, any person subscribing for more than one copy monthly, will obtain them, to any number, at the rate of six copies for a Rupee. No. 1 will be published on the 1st December, 1819.”

1. Appendix to the Second Report of the Bengal Auxiliary Missionary Society (1820).

The contents of the first Number of the *Gospel Magazine* were :

(1) Origin of the Week	p. 1.
(2) Jesus the Saviour	p. 2.
(3) Purification of the Heart	p. 5.
(4) Advantage of Early Instruction	p. 7.
(5) History of Christ	p. 11.
(6) Mirzapore Chapel	p. 12.
(7) Intelligence	p. 16.

The predominant Missionary character of the Magazine is revealed from the following explanatory note² : "The news received from various parts respecting the spread of the Gospel are encouraging and will be published in the *Gospel Magazine* from month to month. Thereby it will appear that the prophecies contained in the Bible are fulfilling."

In the first year of its publication 12 Numbers of the bilingual edition with 14,500 copies and six Numbers of the Bengali edition with 6,000 copies were published and distributed for which the Bengal Auxiliary Missionary Society recorded their pleasure³ :

"Many of the native readers of the *Gospel Magazine* have expressed themselves much pleased with the work. This is an encouraging circumstance, calculated to strengthen our hands, and should stimulate us to greater exertions. One of the Secretaries is in possession of a list of their names amounting to about 500 to whom the *Gospel Magazine* is now regularly sent ; and many in this way hear something of Jesus Christ, which they otherwise would not have an opportunity of doing."

It so appears to us that these native recipients, at least most of them, got their copies gratis.

The *Gospel Magazine* (in its bilingual edition), became a bi-monthly periodical since the second year of its publication

2. *Gospel Magazine*, December 1819, p. 16.

3. Third Report of the Bengal Auxiliary Missionary Society, 1821, p. 12.

and thus in each of the years, second and third, only six Numbers—13 to 18 and 19 to 24 respectively—came out.⁴

The *Gospel Magazine* went off publication after issue of its 24th Number. The last mention of it in circulation is in the 5th Report of the Bengal Auxiliary Missionary Society.⁵

Possibly the *Gospel Magazine* was given up as the cost of publication became a heavy burden on the purse of the Bengal Auxiliary Missionary Society. For, initially sufficient number of copies were sold to defray the expenses of the undertaking but soon the native subscribers grew “weary of repeated application for money” (i. e., weary of call for periodical subscription) and the European gentlemen who were “stated contributors to the publication were removed by death and indisposition.”⁶ In this connection the brethren also recorded of another difficulty—“a considerable disadvantage to the gratuitous distribution of copies having arisen from the title, which being the same from month to month, led the ignorant to suppose every new number was only what they had before received, and therefore often to reject it.”⁷ This was natural as the generality of the natives had yet no idea of a periodical publication.

4. The 4th (1822) and 5th (1823) Report of the Bengal Auxiliary Missionary Society (pages 15 and 11 respectively).

5. Ibid., 5th Report (1823); p. 11.

6. Journal of a Missionary Excursion by the Brethren Tarwin, M. Hill and Warden; Appendix No. VI to the 6th Report of the Bengal Auxiliary Missionary Society, 1824, p. xxiv.

7. Ibid.

(1) THE QUARTERLY CIRCULAR (1820)
AND
(2) THE MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCER
(1824)

In March 1820, came out the *Quarterly Circular*, a quarterly periodical published under the auspices of the Calcutta Corresponding Committee of the Church Missionary Society. The introductory observation in the first number defined the outline of its main contents¹—"a summary of such intelligence as the Corresponding Committee may have received from each station during the preceeding quarter, with such heads of important information as may have arrived from England." The first Number contained ten pages but number of pages went on increasing and in the fifth Number it had as many as twenty-four pages.

The *Quarterly Circular* was converted into a monthly publication—the *Missionary Intelligencer*, in April 1824, and it went on till given up in favour of a newer publication—the *Christian Intelligencer*, which came out in July, 1829.

The *Quarterly Circular* and the *Missionary Intelligencer* used to contain the report of activities of the C.M.S. Missions in India and abroad, report of sister Missions like the Calcutta B. M. S. and the Bengal Auxiliary Missionary Society of the L. M. S., articles on Church History and report of activities of non-christian organisations aiming at the moral and intellectual upliftment of the natives such as the Calcutta School Society and the Calcutta School Book Society. Secular articles

1. *Quarterly Circular*, March 1820, p. 1.

also appeared, such as 'Accounts of the Hindoo Sects', 'Report on the formation of the British India Society in London', 'A Treatise on Female Education, written in Bengalee, by Gour Mohun Brahmin,—and Pundit'.

It so appears that Rev. D. Schmidt had the charge of the editorial management of the *Quarterly Circular* and the *Missionary Intelligencer*.²

Archdeacon Rev. Corrie (subsequently Bishop of Madras) was a regular contributor to these periodicals.³

2. Proceedings of meeting of the Calcutta Church Missionary Committee on August 21, 1820; extract of letter from the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, London, dated January 11, 1820; Mss.
3. Memoirs of Right Rev. Danial Corrie by his Brothers, London, 1847 p. 333.

THE GHOST OF THE ASIATIC
MIRROR (1820)
OR
THE SPIRIT OF PUBLIC OPINION IN INDIA

Immediately after discontinuance of the Asiatic Mirror, the Acting Proprietor of the Mirror Press, John Beckatt, issued the following notice for publication of a new periodical paper entitled "*The Ghost of the Asiatic Mirror or The Spirit of Public Opinion in India*":¹

"The object of this Work is the bringing into one point of view the sentiments of an Indian Society on various subjects, whether political, religious or moral—as well as the extensive information which it is supposed that Society must be capable of affording on whatever relates to general knowledge, the improvement of their arts and sciences, correction of local abuses, and every other species of interesting matter, whereby the character of the British nation may be raised in India and the cause of virtue promoted through the undisguised and free communication of ideas.....the Editor of the above work will engage to insert verbatim whatever communications may be forwarded to him for that purpose, provided they come within the regulations prescribed by Government..... The work will be neatly printed in Royal Octavo..... The different numbers will make their appearance whenever the mass of communication shall be sufficient to fill from 16 to 20 pages—their publication not depending on the arrival of stated periods, but on the influx of interesting matter....."

1. *Government Gazette*, August 25, 1820.

The first issue came out on June 1, 1820. As given out in the notice it did not maintain any fixed periodicity for its appearance. In all 24 issues came out on the following dates during 1820 :

Nos. 1 (1 June), 2 (15 June), 3 (22nd June), 4 (27 June), 5 (1 July), 6 (6 July), 7 (12 July), 8 (18 July), 9 (24 July), 10 (27 July), 11 (31 July), 12 (8 August), 13 (16 August), 14 (23 August), 15 (31 August), 16 (7 September), 17 (14 September), 18 (27 September), 19 (29 September), 20 (9 October), 21 (14 October), 22 (21 October), 23 (27 October), 24 (6 November).

With the issue for November 6, 1820, the *Ghost of the Asiatic Mirror* came to an end and we get the following notice of this from the editor² :

"The *Ghost* will be discontinued with the present. . . . I think it proper to state that the number of Subscribers to the *Ghost* is at this time considerably more than sufficient to defray the expenses of publishing it. My motives for discontinuing it will I hope therefore be justly estimated by all those who may be inclined to give the matter a moment's consideration. J. B."

Shortly after this the *Mirror Press* was sold out to Patrick Chrichton "who, for upwards of 20 years has superintended" this Printing concern.³

2. *Ghost of the Asiatic Mirror*, November 6, 1820, p. 384.

3. *Government Gazette*, February 11, 1821, advertisement.

THE CALCUTTA MIRROR (1820)

In 1820, the *Calcutta Mirror* came out as the mouthpiece of the Armenian community in Calcutta.¹ From "A Brief Account of the Armenian Press (Drawn up by an Armenian gentleman for the *Calcutta Journal*)" we get the following brief particulars of it²:

"In the year 1820, on the 29th of July, a Prospectus was issued by the Literary Society, (the Society then composed of Mackertich A. Aganoor, Chairman, Lazur Agabeg, John Ardall, Sarkeis J. Sarkeis) announcing to the public their intention of establishing a Weekly Journal, to be entitled The *Calcutta Mirror*. Owing to several circumstances, which a Free Press is liable to produce, and to the mass of intolerable abuse which were poured upon its conductors (who were then Messrs. Mackertich A. Aganoor and John Ardall), the circulation of that Paper was but of short duration. Scarcely was the publication three months old, when the conductors were.....dogged through the public streets with fencing sticks, and clubs. Discord also broke out now and then between some of the different families of the community, by which the circulation of the paper was greatly injured. On account of these quarrels, the number of subscribers.....diminished by one half; and at last, encountering so many obstacles, the circulation of the paper was unavoidably stopped".

We get no further particulars of this shortlived periodical.

1. *Asiatic Journal*, October 1822, p. 348.

2. *Calcutta Journal*, February 21, 1822, p. 533.

THE JOHN BULL IN THE EAST (1821)

On July 2, 1821, came out the *John Bull in the East*, as a daily paper. Originally it was owned by John Trotter, Esq., Opium Agent, R.C. Plowden, Esqr., Salt Agent, T. Lewin, Clerk of the Crown in the Supreme Court, C.B. Greenlaw and J.P. Larkins, two Covenanted servants of the E.I. Company.¹ It was set up to oppose and if possible to annihilate the Calcutta Journal of John Silk Buckingham. In the prospectus for the *John Bull* it was so represented that this opposition arose out of the conflicting conception of Buckingham and of the officials of the Government as to the extent of freedom of press in India and the probable effect of this freedom.² In reality, however, the opposition of the officials was mostly due to the fact that the Calcutta Journal represented encroachment of the mercantile influence in the realm of Indian Press, so long a close preserve for the officials.³

The prospectus for the *John Bull* was circulated by post throughout country free of postage under orders of Government.⁴

1. *Asiatic Journal*, November 1823, *Law Intelligence*, pp. 493-502 and September 1824, p. 279; Proceedings of the Special General Court of Proprietors held on July 23, 1824.
2. *Government Gazette*, Supplement, June 14, 1821.
3. In his examination before the Select Committee on the Suppression of the Calcutta Journal, on July 1, 1834, Buckingham gave out the details of setting up of his paper; Reply to Question No. 613, Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1834, Vol. 8, Paper 601, p. 50.
4. Reply to Question No. 594 of examination of Buckingham on May 26, 1826; Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1834, Vol. 8, Paper 601, p. 44.

The native society even became amused of the polemics between the *Calcutta Journal* and the *John Bull* and we get an account of it in the native vernacular paper, the *Temeer Nashuk*⁵: “.....the *Calcutta Journal* was set up, in which Mr. Buckingham made a great display of his abilities.....by abusing many of the acts of the Council and Government; and the *John Bull* paper was set up to oppose him. Then first they began to pour down in this city like the first burst of rains and by the contentions of the papers, many learned natives became exceedingly interested in the perusal of them. Even those who were ignorant of English constantly enquired, what does today's Journal say? or, what answer is there to it in the *John Bull*? Thus a general excitement was created.....”

Subsequent to the banishment of James Silk Buckingham in March 1823, and withdrawal of license for the *Calcutta Journal* in November 1823, the *John Bull* suffered in popularity in spite of great attention to its intelligence department and an adherence to Tory and Anglo Indian conservancy politics.⁶ In 1825 the Court of Directors ordered prohibition on the association of their servants with the Press and on that the relation of the Government officials with the *John Bull* ceased.⁷

Gradually the proprietorship of the *John Bull* passed into the hands of one of the Agency Houses—M/s. Cruttenden Mackillop and Co.⁸ which became bankrupt in the last quarter of 1832 along with many other Houses of the time and the assignees put the *John Bull* to sale which was purchased by J. H. Stocqueler for Rs. 18,000/-⁹ on the 1st May, 1833, and under his management, “an entire change took place in the character and prospects of the paper..... From the support of Toryism, the *John Bull* shifted to the advocacy

5. *Temeer Nashuk* extracted in the *India Gazette*, January 26, 1832.

6. *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine and Review*, No. III, October 1833, pp. 413-414.

7. *Government Gazette*, May 18, 1826.

8. *Englishman*, Centenary Number, July 2, 1921.

9. J.H. Stocqueler, *The Memoirs of a Journalist*, London, 1873, p. 92.

and defence of a Whig administration".¹⁰ Stocqueler was assisted with capital by Dwarkanath Tagore.¹¹ Shortly after this he decided to change the name of the paper also—"To cast the serpent's skin—to cut away the last remains of Toryism".¹²

Hence, the *John Bull* went off publication and the *Englishman* appeared in its stead since October 1, 1833.¹³

10. *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine & Review*, No. III, October 1833, p. 414.

11. J.H. Stocqueler, op. cit., p. 93.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 93.

13. *Englishman*, October 1, 1833.

THE BRITISH INDIAN MILITARY REPOSITORY (1822)

In January 1822, came out the *British Indian Military Repository*, a biannual publication.¹ In a "Dedication To The Officers of the British Indian Army" the proprietor-editor promised to make this publication "a ready means of recording their Achievements in the Field and promoting Professional Science". It was printed at the Church Mission Press, Mirzapore, Calcutta, and priced at rupees six per Number. The editorial management and the proprietorship rested with Capt. Samuel Parlbby, Model Master in the Bengal Artillery, Dum Dum.

On publication of its sixth number in July 1824, Capt. Parlbby was transferred to Allahabad.² It so appears that Parlbby received the communications for the periodical at Allahabad and exercised the editorial management therefrom while Messrs. Samuel Smith & Co. at No. 1, Hare Street, Calcutta, acted as the printer & publisher. And thus the 7th Number came out. Then Capt. Parlbby resigned the editorship and also made over the copy right to Messrs. Samuel Smith & Co.,³ who already published the 8th Number in February 1826. The new proprietors reduced the price to rupees four per copy and desired to make it a quarterly publication.⁴ But regularity in the time of publication could not be main-

1. *The British Indian Military Repository*, January 1822, Dedication Sheet.
2. *Bengal Harkaru*, July 14, 1824.
3. *Ibid.*, March 20, 1826.
4. *Ibid*

tained and No. IX could be published only in August 1826⁵ and No. X in February 1827.⁶ In February 1828, came out the 12th Number.⁷ In a publication list of the Messrs. Samuel Smith & Co. advertised in the *Bengal Harkaru* on August 14, 1828, the *British Indian Military Repository* was shown as an occasional publication.

Subsequently the British Indian Military Repository appears to have changed hands again and in the Calcutta Annual Directory & Register, 1833 and 1834, we get it mentioned as a quarterly periodical published by W. H. Pearce.⁸

Contents of the 1st Number as listed below give us a fair idea of the highly professional character of this periodical publication.

- Article I : Memoirs of Col. Thomas Deane Pearse of the Bengal Artillery containing numerous and interesting extracts from his original correspondences, connected with some of the most important events in the Government of India; pp. 1-80.
- Article II : Observations on the precautions necessary to prevent the infection of the Cholera amongst large bodies of troops, while marching through districts where that disease is raging; pp. 81-85.
- Article III : Philosophical experiments upon the refraction of musket-balls in water, and upon the resistance of this fluid: by Mr. Carre (11th July, 1705), translated by Mr. Chambers; pp. 86-94.
- Article IV : A Short examination of the statement contained in a work entitled "A circumstantial and explanatory account of experiments lately made at the Royal Artillery Depot at Woolwich, before a Select Committee of General and Field Officers of Artillery.....with a view

5. Ibid.

6. *Oriental Observer*, August 5, 1827, p. 194.

7. *John Bull*, February 9, 1828.

8. *The Calcutta Annual Directory and Register* for 1833 & 1834 by T.B. Scott & Co., pp. 320 and 339 respectively.

of ascertaining the comparative accuracy of the relative times of burning of fuzes driven by a machine, opposed to those of the common description."; pp. 95-115.

Article V : On Monsieur Carnot's Theory of Defence by vertical fire. Extract from the Quarterly Journal of Science, Literature & The Arts, Vol. VIII; pp. 115-120.

Article VI : Opinion and experiments of the late Sir John Horsford, K.C.B., Commandant of the Bengal Artillery, on Monsieur Carnot's vertical fire; pp. 121-124.

Article VII : On the modes of conducting a Military Court of Enquiry; pp. 127-128.

Article VIII : On Cannon Shot; pp. 129-132.

Article IX : On Mortar practice with the Magnetic Needle; pp. 133-136.

Article X : Description of an improved T Square; pp. 137-38.

Article XI : Description of a bayonet safeguard; pp. 139-142.

Article XII : Description of a new Shot-gauge; pp. 143-144.

Article XIII : General Order by His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor General in Council; pp. 145-147.

Miscellanies : pp. 148-154.

(A) Review of two books :-

(i) "A concise account of the origin and principles of the new class of 24 Pounder medium Gun of reduced length & weight" by Sir William Congrave, Bart.

(ii) "Memoirs of the operations of the British Army in India during the Mahratta War of 1817, 1818 and 1819" by Col. Blaker.

- (B) Wire Bridges : description of several such bridges for foot passengers in America with the editorial remark that such "a bridge must be thrown across the Hooghly, from Calcutta to the opposite bank".
- (C) New Church of St. Stephen at Dum Dum : an account of the foundation laying ceremony at the Head Quarters of the Bengal Artillery.

A list of subscribers was appended with the 1st Number and list of additional subscribers were appended with the subsequent Numbers. The list with the first Number had 263 subscribers in it including Sir D. Ochterlony, Lt. General, Bart, C.C.B. and Sherer, Esq., Accountant General, Bengal Civil Service. The additional list with the Second Number had 90 more subscribers. The number of subscribers went on increasing and the list gradually included the Hon'ble John Adam, Governor General and His Excellency General Sir Edward Paget, C.C.B., Commander-in-Chief (Subscription list with issue No. IV, July, 1823) ; the Royal Artillery Library, Woolwich, Lt. General Cuppage, Director, Carriage Depot, Woolwich and Sir Alexander Dickson, K.C.B., Inspector of Artillery (Subscription list with issue No. V, January, 1824) ; and Hon'ble W.B. Bayley and the Venerable Archdeacon Corrie (Subscription list with issue No. XI, July, 1826).

The information contained in the *Military Repository* coming directly from the men in the Army enjoyed good reliance and thus we see the editor of the *Friend of India* referring to it for authenticity of some information as late as 1844.⁹ Occasionally expert opinion on military matters expressed through the pages of the *Military Repository* gave rise to prolonged discussions in the columns of the daily prints, e.g. Sir William Congrave's '*Rockets in India*'.¹⁰

9. *Friend of India*, May 16, 1844, pp. 305-306.

10. *Bengal Harkaru*, November 26, 1825.

THE AUXILIARY MISSIONARY HERALD (1822)

In July 1822, came out the *Auxiliary Missionary Herald*, a monthly periodical.¹ It was published by the Calcutta Baptist Missionary Society and it used to contain "a brief detail of the labours of the brethren in different parts of Bengal—extracted chiefly from the diaries of the Missionaries".²

It was priced rupees three per annum.³

In January 1829, the periodical underwent a change of title—it became "*The Missionary Herald*".⁴

The *Missionary Herald* of May 1832, contained the following "Notice" of its closure :

"It having been determined to publish a new Religious Periodical under the designation of the '*Calcutta Christian Observer*' which in addition to other matter will contain much Missionary and other religious intelligence, it is thought unnecessary to continue the publication of the *Missionary Herald* beyond the present month."

After a period of seven and half years the *Hissionary Herald*

1. (a) The first available issue of the *Auxiliary Missionary Herald* is No. LXVII of January 1828. By back calculation we get this time for issue of its first Number.
- (b) "Advertisement" (perforatorial address) in No. 1 of the *Calcutta Missionary Herald*, January 1840, pp. 1-2.
2. *John Bull*, May 26, 1825.
3. Footnote page 72 of the *Missionary Herald*, Sept., 1830.
4. Vol. VII, No. LXXIX of the former *Auxiliary Missionary Herald*.
5. "Advertisement" (prefatorial address) in No. 1 of the *Calcutta Missionary Herald*, January 1840, pp. 1-2.

reappeared as the *Calcutta Missionary Herald*, in January 1840, with an "Advertisement" thus explaining the revival⁵ :

"It will be in the recollection of some of our readers, that a periodical under nearly the same title as the present, and published under the auspices of the Calcutta Auxiliary Baptist Missionary Society, was commenced in July 1822, and continued until May 1832..... The present though under a similar title is not intended to be regarded altogether as a resuscitation of that publication. The object chiefly aimed at in that was the promotion of a Missionary spirit amongst the friends of religion generally in different parts of the country. The object of the present publication is more immediately and intimately connected with the Baptist Missionary Society in England and its agents in India while it is hoped that it will be found to contribute not less than its predecessor to the promotion of a Missionary spirit among the other friends of religion in this country into whose hands it may come....."

Before the completion of the sixth year of publication, the November issue of 1846 contained "A Word to Our Readers" which notified : "It is doubtful whether after the end of this year, the *Missionary Herald* will be continued in its present separate form, or whether it will be incorporated in a monthly Magazine the publication of which is under contemplation (the Oriental Baptist)....."

The *Oriental Baptist* came into publication since January 1847, and from now on the *Missionary Herald* formed a part of it—the concluding part with eight pages—till the end of our period of study.

THE ASIATIC OBSERVER (1823)

The *Asiatic Observer or the Religious, Literary and Philosophical Miscellany* came out as a quarterly publication in January 1823. We get the following notice of it in the Report of the London Missionary Society¹ :

"In conjunction with the brethren of the Baptist Mission, the Society's Missionaries have commenced a periodical work entitled the *Asiatic Observer*, the object of which is to give circulation to Christian and Missionary intelligence. Of this work, which has hitherto met with considerable encouragement, Mr. Micaiah Hill is Editor."

In a subsequent publication of the Baptist Missionary Society—"What may be effected by Union: A Fragment of Mission History"²—Rev. W. H. Pearce, a Missionary of that Society, was mentioned as the editor of the *Asiatic Observer*. Possibly the editorial management rested on both jointly.

The *Asiatic Observer* was printed first at the Baptist Mission Press, Circular Road, Calcutta and then at the London Missionary Society's own press, the School Press, Park Street, Chowringhee, Calcutta.

From an advertisement in the *Government Gazette* on November 21, 1822, we get the following particulars of it :

The work would embrace the following subjects :—

- I. Biography of characters eminent for piety, literature, patriotism or philanthropy.

1. Report of the London Missionary Society, 1824, p. 64.

2. "What may be effected by Union: A Fragment of Mission History"; Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta (1870), p. 13.

- II. Essays on important subjects.
- III. Biblical Criticisms.
- IV. Miscellaneous communications.
- V. Poetry.
- VI. Review of works, published in this country, or connected with it.
- VII. Summary of intelligence : (1) Literary & Philosophical ; including select lists of works, preparing for publication, and recently published in Asia, Britain and America. (2) Religious & Philanthropical. (3) Obituary notices. (4) Retrospect of public affairs. (5) Register of marriages, births & deaths.

“Prices three rupees each number, and the profits to be devoted to benevolent purposes”.

For two years—1823 and 1824—the *Asiatic Observer* came out quarterly—in January, April, July and October—and then ceased with this notice “To Subscribers and Correspondents” in the issue of October 1824 :

“In presenting the 8th number of the *Asiatic Observer* to the public, its managers close their labours..... They are assured that the Friends of the *Asiatic Observer* will sincerely lament the necessity of its discontinuance, when they are informed that it does not arise from a want of the material for such a work, but from the difficulty, especially in the case of residents at a distance, in realising the small amount of their subscriptions. As the work has already involved the Proprietors in considerable expense, and as it does not promise any extended pecuniary support to the benevolent objects, for whose sole benefit it was established, it does not appear to its managers that they are justified in devoting themselves any longer to its interests.”

The contents of the *Asiatic Observer* reveals that though the editors aimed primarily to circulate “Christian and Missionary intelligence” they also admitted essays and articles on general literature and many other secular topics like “On the tendency of the Calcutta School Book Society” (April 1823), “On the present state of the pepper trade” (January 1824)

and "Traditional account of the minerets of Pandooa" (October 1824).

The over zealous Missionary spirit in the composition like "Minor Superstitions of the Hindus and Muslims" (in the issue of October 1824) appears to have been disliked by many thoughtful readers in England and we get a letter of protest in the Asiatic Journal of August, 1825 (a London publication) :

"Superstition prevails amongst the vulgar of all nations. It is the companion of ignorance ; and we are wrong when we infer from examples, which are found in other countries, that the lower classes (in those countries) are therefore degraded in the intellectual scale below those in our own. I was led to this reflection by reading in the *Asiatic Observer*of October last, an article entitled "Minor Superstitions of the Hindoos & Mussalmans" which is evidently inserted with a view of displaying their intellectual debasement and deplorable ignorance".

(1) THE ORIENTAL MAGAZINE AND
CALCUTTA REVIEW (1823)

AND

(2) THE QUARTERLY ORIENTAL
MAGAZINE, REVIEW AND REGISTER (1824)

In the *Calcutta Journal* on November 7, 1822, we get the following prospectus of a new magazine :

"Prospectus.....*Oriental Magazine and Calcutta Review of Domestic and Foreign Literature*.....a Publication.....devoted principally, if not entirely, to Literature and Science.....in the pages of.....its Oriental Department will be found a series of Articles, written exclusively for the present work and giving a synoptical view of the subjects, included under General Literature—such as General History—Political Economy—Principles of Law—Rhetoric—Belles Letters etc.....Scientific Notices will likewise hold a prominent place in the *Oriental Magazine*.....The proprietors...promise to their Medical Friends.....occasional Views of the Progress of Medical Science, both in Europe and India.....A Parliamentary Register will form a record of the proceedings of the British Legislature; while the Debates at the India House will not be overlooked.....the Civil and Military Readers will learn the progress of Change and Promotion in the Service, from the Public Order of Government, to which room will also be assigned.....The First Number of the Magazine will appear in January—the work will be published monthly at Five Sicca Rupees per Number and each Number will contain 100 to 120 pages....."

Accordingly in January 1823, came out the *Oriental Magazine and Calcutta Review*.¹ On the close of the first year of publication it was converted into a quarterly publication with the title—The *Quarterly Oriental Magazine, Review and Register* with the following notice² :

“...the larger space that will now be afforded, and the larger intervals that will elapse between the periods of publication will enable the Editor to include in each Number, whatever of Domestic Intelligence is interesting along with the usual table of events, and such of the General Orders, as to the Civil and Military Servants, may be permanently important. The proceedings of the Courts of Justice, in cases of general interest to the community will also find a place in the New Series, which by this plan will unite the advantages of a Register, to those of a Magazine and Review... The Quarterly or New Series of the *Oriental* will extend from 250 to 300 pages each Number. The first will appear on the 20th March ; and the price to subscribers will be 9 rupees each Number...”.

Accordingly in March 1824, came out the No. I of this *Quarterly Oriental Magazine, Review & Register*, published by Messrs. Thackers & Co., St. Andrew's Library, and printed at the Baptist Mission Press, at 11 Circular Road, Calcutta.³

The contents of this first Number were :

Part I

- Art. I. Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay—p. 1.
- Art. II. Account of the Religious Innovations of Akbar—p. 49.
- Art. III. Hindu Fictions—p. 63.
- Art. IV. Education in India—Tenth Report of the Church

1. *Calcutta Journal*, January 15, 1823, p. 207.

2. Extracted in the *John Bull*, December 22, 1823.

3. *Quarterly Oriental Magazine, Review & Register*, March 1824 : but since 1827 it was printed at the Hindoostanee Press (vide the *Bengal Directory & General Register*, 1827, by Messrs. Smith & Co., p. 322).

Missionary Society and Fifth Report of the Calcutta School Book Society—p. 77.

- Art. V. Elegy to the Memory of Rev. Henry Martyn with smaller poems by John Lawson, Missionary at Calcutta—p. 87.
- Art. VI. Malcolm's Memoir of Central India including Malwa—p. 96.
- Art. VII. Poetry—Outward Bound—p. 96.

Part II

- Art. I. Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea in the years 1819, 1820, 1821 and 1822, by John Franklin, Capt.—p. 1.
- Art. II. Travels in various countries of Europe, Asia and Africa, by Edward Daniel Clerk, L.L.D.—p. 15.
- Art. III. Heraldic Anomalies or rank Confusion in Our Orders of Precedence, by 'It Matters Not Who'.—p. 33.
- Art. IV. Chemical Essays, principally relating to the Arts and Manufactures of the British dominions, by Samuel Parker—p. 41.
- Art. V. Progress of Medical Science in Europe—p. 56.
- Art. VI. Literary, Scientific and Miscellaneous Notices—p. 73.

Quarterly Register

- I. Historical Sketch of the Administration of Lord Hastings, Part I—p. i.
- II. Miscellaneous Asiatic Intelligence—p. xvi.
- III. Births, Marriages, Arrivals, Departures and General Orders—p. xxxviii.

Rev. Dr. James Bryce, Presbyterian Chaplain of the East India Company, was the editor of this quarterly publication. Under his management it reached a high standard of excellence.⁴ And he was accorded special permission, in relaxation

4. *Bengal Harkaru*, January 6, 1825.

of the general prohibition on the servants of the Company for association with the Press, to continue in his relation with this periodical.⁵

We are not sure of the exact period upto which this periodical survived. The last mention of this as still in print that we get it in the *Bengal Harkaru* in November, 1829.⁶ It did not appear in the list of periodicals extant in the beginning of 1831 which was submitted by James Sutherland to the Select Committee of the Parliament in course of his examination on the 16th March, 1832.⁷

5. *Oriental Observer*, May 4, 1828, p. 508.

6. *Bengal Harkaru*, November, 25 1829.

7. Reply to Question No. 1052, Examination of James Sutherland ; Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1831-32, Vol. 9, Paper 735-I, p. 121.

THE UNITARIAN REPOSITORY (1823)

In October 1823, came out the *Unitarian Repository* as a monthly periodical¹ under the auspices of the Calcutta Unitarian Committee (formed in September 1821, with members—Rammohun Roy, William Tate, Dwarkanath Tagore, B. W. Mcleod, M. D., Theodore Dickens, William Bruce, Prosunno Coomar Tagore and William Adam, erstwhile Missionary of the Baptist Missionary Society, as Secretary).²

The contents for the first Number were³ :

Memoirs of Chillingworth ; Chillingworth on Truth and Unity ; Brief Review of the Doctrines of Unitarian Christianity ; General Meeting in London of the Association for Protecting the Civil Rights of the Unitarians ; Extract of a letter from the Secretary of the London Unitarian Fund Society ; Extract of a letter from Boston, United States, describing the State of Religion in that City ; Rise and Progress of Unitarian Christianity at Madras ; State of the Subscriptions for Erection of a Unitarian Chappel in Calcutta ; Heterodoxy of the Presbyterians in Ireland ; Controversy between Dr. Marshman and Rammohun Roy ; Serampore Native Female Schools.

Unfortunately the *Unitarian Repository* did not last long. Nor was its appearance regular during its short life span. The Numbers for August, September and October 1824, were not published at all, and then the Number for November came

1. *John Bull*, November 1, 1823.
2. *Bengal Harkaru*, November 28, 1825 : *Brief Memoir respecting the Establishment of a Unitarian Mission in Bengal.*
3. *John Bull*, November 1, 1823.

out with the following statement of the editor explaining the position⁴ :

“The Editor of the *Unitarian Repository* regrets that circumstances beyond his power...have prevented the appearance of the Numbers for August, September and October and that the same circumstances will probably continue to operate in the same way for sometime to come. All therefore that he will attempt at present is to publish an occasional Number with a view to prevent the work from becoming entirely extinct and in the hope that more favourable circumstances will soon enable him to continue it in regular series.”

Circumstances possibly did not become favourable and we are not aware of publication of any further issue of the journal.

The *Unitarian Repository* was published at the Unitarian Press of Rammohun Roy and was priced rupee one per Number.⁵ It was possibly under the editornial management of Mr. (formerly Rev.) William Adam.⁶

4. *Bengal Harkaru*, December 2, 1824.

5. *Ibid.*, December 31, 1824.

6. *John Bull*, March 21, 1827.

THE HELTER SKELTER MAGAZINE (1824)

In January 1824, came out the *Helter Skelter Magazine* and we get the following notice of it in the *Quarterly Oriental Magazine*, March 1824¹: "A monthly publication under this quaint title has appeared from the India Gazette Press... promising to its readers a fund of varied amusements...". Its publishers were M/s. T.B. Scott & Co. and its subscription was fixed at rupees four per mensem.² The "Address of the *Helter Skelter* Editors" in the first Number gave out³: "Our great ambition is to amuse harmlessly. To those possessed with the devil of melancholy or care or listlessness, we would humbly suggest that they would listen for a moment to our minstrelsy. It is better to listen to our little 'Helter Skelter harp'...than to ponder hypochondriacally over the unavoidable ills of life—or to give ear to the whisperings of calumny and the bruited scandal."

In an editorial review of the Calcutta Press the *Bengal Harkaru* on January 6, 1825, observed that "The *Helter Skelter Magazine*...can not be judged of by comparison with any other work—it being (for this country) a publication sui generis."

The contents of the first Number of the *Helter Skelter Magazine* were⁴:

I. Address of the Helter Skelter Editors.

II. Charles Mariton, A Tale.

1. *Quarterly Oriental Magazine*, March, 1824, p. xxxi.

2. *Bengal Harkaru*, December 31, 1824.

3. Extracted in the *John Bull*, February 11, 1824.

4. *John Bull*, February 11, 1824.

- III. The Legend of the Monk of St. Herbert's.
- IV. On the Mutability of Sublunary things, a desultory tale.
- V. A Calcutta Eclogue.
- VI. Observations on a saying of Fontenelle and Lines to—
- VII. Inquiry into the Inventions of Capt. Purlby of the Bengal Artillery.
- VIII. Helter Skelter Stanzas.
- IX. On the effects of Female character upon Society.
- X. Percy De Montfort, A Fragment.
- XI. The Seige of Hattrass in 1817.
- XII. Lieut. MacNaghten's Poems.

The Helter Skelter Magazine did not last for long. In December 1824, came out Number XII.⁵ Then we get the following notice of its closure in the *Oriental Herald* of July 1825 :

"*The Helter-Skelter Magazine*, published at Calcutta, announced on the appearance of the 12th Number, that it was about to put a period to its existence, and that an unforeseen event had well-nigh done so previous to the publication of that Number. What this event is, we have no means of learning, but it is asserted that it was neither for want of matter or circulation, the latter being above a hundred monthly, which, at the price it was furnished at, is said to have rendered its continuance well worthwhile. It was the only successful periodical of the kind ever issued from the Indian press, professing to be of a purely original and literary character. The mysterious veil thrown over the manner of its death leads us to suspect that it was strangled by the arm of power, on account of its liberal opinions. We have been given to understand, that it never had the license prescribed by the existing laws ; and if so, we are only surprised that it was allowed to exist so long as twelve months on mere sufferance."

THE SCOTSMAN IN THE EAST (1824)

The Scotsman in the East came out on March 1, 1824, in terms of the following prospectus¹ :

"*The Scotsman in the East*...a New Daily Paper... from the Press established at No. 4, Bankshall Street... will be conducted on those approved principles which give value to the best paper extant, *The Scotsman* or *Edinburg, Political and Literary Journal*...will consist of Four quarto sheets, and will be so arranged as to admit of the introduction into the first and second, of European and Foreign Politics, Literature, Science and Miscellaneous matters. The third or Asiatic sheet, will contain Correspondence, and every kind of Intelligence of a local nature. The fourth or last sheet will be dedicated to Domestic Occurrences, Commercial matter and Advertisements... Monthly subscription on European paper Sa. Rs. 12 and on China paper Sa. Rs. 10."

It arose out of the ruins of the *Calcutta Journal*. In February 1823, Government cancelled the license of Mr. James Silk Buckingham, the proprietor-editor of the *Calcutta Journal* for residence in India and in following March Buckingham left the shores of India and in November next the license for publication of the *Calcutta Journal* was also withdrawn by Government. Repeated applications for renewal of the license for printing the *Calcutta Journal* failed ; in fact Government systematically refused license for any publication out of the *Calcutta Journal* Establishments which would

1. Prospectus extracted in the *John Bull*, February 23, 1824, advertisement.

bear out any profit to Buckingham and ultimately license was issued to Dr. W. B. Muston, son-in-law of Mr. Harrington, a Secretary to the Government who would soon become a member of Governor General's Council. Dr. W. B. Muston was a Surgeon on the Bengal Medical Establishment.²

The Scotsman in the East was in the opinion of many a "daily publication in India sincerely devoted to liberal principles, and an independent advocacy of the interests of the community."³

The Scotsman in the East got into financial troubles only a few months after its commencement⁴ and possibly in consequence of this Dr. Muston withdrew from it and a new editor took over.⁵ Finally it went off publication since May 16, 1825, and its proprietary right was purchased by Messrs. Samuel Smith and Co. who merged it with the *Bengal Harkaru*.⁶

2. *Bengal Obituary*, op. cit., p. 188.

3. *Oriental Herald*, December 1825, p. 562.

4. *Scotsman in the East*, extracted in the *Bengal Harkaru*, September 17, 1824.

5. *Bengal Harkaru*, January 10, 1825.

6. *Ibid.*, May 19, 1825.

THE MONTHLY MUSICAL MISCELLANY (1825)

In January 1825, came out the *Monthly Musical Miscellany*, published at the Asiatic Lithographic Press, Park Street, Chowringhee, and priced at rupees five per month for the subscribers and rupees eight for the non-subscribers.

The contents for the 1st Number were¹ :

1. Rossini's Cavatina, with variations (for the Piano Forte or Harp) composed by Rimmault.
2. Low in the Vale, Song, by Bishop.
3. Air with Variations for Violin by Rolla with an introduction and Piano Forte accompaniments by Masi.
4. The 1st Number of the Pavillon Quadrilles by Sanderson.

In an editorial review the *John Bull* wrote of it² :

"...The matter contained...appears to be judiciously selected and the work is executed in a manner reflecting credit on the press, whence it issues..."

The eighth Number came out in November, 1825.³ With this Number the publication appears to have ceased altogether. For, we get no further mention of it.

It so appears that the *Musical Miscellany* went out of publication for want of patronage. The English in India looked down upon it as a pariah production and would prefer the imported musical magazines like the *Irish Melodics* to this.

1. *Bengal Harkaru*, January 8, 1825 ; advertisement.

2. *John Bull*, February 10, 1825.

3. *Bengal Harkaru*, November 5, 1825 ; advertisement.

(1) THE COLUMBIAN PRESS
 GAZETTE (1825)
 AND
 (2) THE BENGAL CHRONICLE (1826)

The *Columbian Press Gazette* owed its origin to the *Columbian Press Advertiser* which was published twice a week and distributed gratis, as would be evident from the following advertisement appearing in the *John Bull* on May 13, 1825 :

"...the Proprietors...submit the...proposal...viz : In addition to the Advertiser which will be distributed gratis as usual (Twice a Week) they intend to publish Half a Sheet every Tuesday, and a whole sheet every Friday, containing all the local News... The advantages offered by such a Paper as will furnish all the News of the Week...for only one Rupee per Month must be sufficiently obvious to those whose avocations will not admit of their perusing a Daily Paper, or who think the expense too great... It is intended to carry the above plan into effect (if encouraged) in the first week of June next..."

Accordingly the *Columbian Press Gazette and Weekly Advertiser* came out in June 1825.¹

We get further particulars of this periodical from another advertisement appearing in the *Bengal Harkaru* about three months after its establishment² :

"After being established three months *The Columbian Press Gazette* has now 520 subscribers on its list...con-

1. *Bengal Harkaru*, June 28, 1825, advertisement.

2. *Ibid.*, September 15, 1825.

sists of 2 sheets, or 8 quarto pages...and usually contains 2 pages...of editorial remarks...and about the same quantity of original communications; the rest of the paper being made up of Selections from English and Indian journals and late periodicals...on politics and general literature. With regard to the tone of the paper... it is in every respect to the utmost limit which the Restrictions on the Press admit of, that of the late *Calcutta Journal*; and that this tone of manly independence is adopted, not from any despicable hope of succeeding by mere mechanical imitation, but from principle and feeling—from a rooted conviction that the great truths, so ably contended for in the Paper named, will one day subvert the reign of error, inequity and oppression and that their maintenance is essential not only to the promotion of the true greatness of the British empire; but to that of the dignity and happiness of the human race...”

On completion of the first year of publication the *Columbian Press Gazette* underwent a major transformation as advertised in the *John Bull* on June 30, 1826 :

“...Having recived...the most flattering assurances ...that the circulation of the paper might be greatly increased by more frequent publication and by including the General Orders, the Proprietor resolved on acceding to the suggested changes...the Proprietor deemed the occasion eligible for making an alteration in the title of the Paper...on calling it the *Bengal Chronicle*, and it will be published from and after the 1st proximo under that title, on Tuesdays, Fridays and Sundays ; at a subscription of 4 Rupees per month...”

Shortly after this the *Bengal Chronicle* became involved in serious troubles. On November 8, 1826, the proprietor received a letter from the Government announcing that “the Vice President-in-Council had resolved in revoking the licence of the *Bengal Chronicle*” for the article “commenting on the letter of this Government to the Court of Directors relating to the Burmah War.”³ Ultimately the *Bengal Chronicle* was

3. *Bengal Harkaru*, November 11, 1826.

however spared as the proprietor "made respectful appeal to the Government to allow the Paper to be continued under another Editor."⁴ James Sutherland, Esquire, who had so long the editorial charge withdrew and William Adam got into his place⁵ and we get the following advertisement in the *Bengal Chronicle* on July 7, 1827 :

"*The Bengal Chronicle* : This paper is issued three times a week (Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday), and contains three sheets or twelve pages of Letter Press..... Price three rupees per month or 32 rupees per annum payable in advance..."

The editorship of William Adam did not last long. He gave up the office and himself started the *Calcutta Chronicle*.⁶

In an article, on the Press in India, the *Oriental Herald* (the London periodical by James Silk Buckingham) observed on the *Bengal Chronicle* of this period⁷ : "This paper is conducted avowedly on the principles that distinguished the late *Calcutta Journal*, and advocated a free Press and Colonisation with zeal and assiduity."

The *Bengal Chronicle* passed into the ownership of the proprietors of the *Bengal Harkaru*, Messrs. Samuel Smith & Co.⁸ sometime in 1827 and thereafter we get the following notice⁹ :

"...The *Bengal Harkaru* and *Bengal Chronicle*... from the 1st January, 1828, the Proprietors intended the Daily Morning edition to be designated The *Bengal Harkaru & Chronicle* (Published Daily). The second Edition will continue to be styled *The Bengal Chronicle* (Published on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday)."

Accordingly on January 1, 1828, came out *The Bengal Harkaru and Chronicle*—"A New Series of the *Bengal Har-*

4. Ibid.

5. *The Asiatic Journal*, August 1827, pp. 237-38.

6. *John Bull*, March 29, 1828, "Newspaper Dispute at Calcutta" : Letter from Sandford Arnot of the late *Calcutta Journal*.

7. Extracted in the *Asiatic Journal*, September 1827, p. 365.

8. *John Bull*, March 29, 1828. "Newspaper Dispute at Calcutta."

9. (a) *Bengal Harkaru*, December 31, 1827, advertisement.

(b) *Bengal Chronicle*, January 3, 1828, p. 11.

karu—Calcutta Journal—Scotsman in the East—Columbian Press Gazette and Bengal Chronicle."¹⁰

Since now on the ter-weekly *Bengal Chronicle* was advertised as "the Second edition of the *Bengal Harkaru & Chronicle*"¹¹ and in 1820 it enjoyed a circulation of 300 copies.¹² But this circulation gradually became reduced and in 1833 it had only about 200 subscribers and those were the persons who "either can not afford to take the mightier journal (the *Bengal Harkaru*), or want the necessary leisure for the perusal of its voluminous contents."¹³

Through a public sale on September 26, 1834, Dwarkanath Tagore became the sole proprietor of the *India Gazette*.¹⁴ He merged the daily edition of the *India Gazette* with the *Bengal Harkaru & Chronicle* which now became "*The Bengal Harkaru and Chronicle with which is incorporated the India Gazette.*" The ter-weekly edition of the *India Gazette* became merged with the ter-weekly *Bengal Chronicle* under the title—"The *India Gazette with which is incorporated The Bengal Chronicle: A Ter-weekly Edition of the Bengal Harkaru & Chronicle & Daily India Gazette.*"¹⁵ This ter-weekly would be published on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays and the rate of subscription was rupees four per month or rupees ten per quarter and rupees thirty-two per annum, if paid in advance.¹⁶

The ter-weekly *India Gazette & the Bengal Chronicle* finally came to an end with the close of the year 1843 and we get the following "Notice to Subscribers."¹⁷

"The Proprietor of this paper begs leave to notify to Subscribers that the number of this journal now before

10. *Bengal Harkaru and Chronicle*, January 1, 1828 (Vol. I, No. 1, New Series; Vol. LIII, No. 3921, Old Series).

11. *Bengal Chronicle*, October 4, 1828, p. 241.

12. *Bengal Harkaru*, November 25, 1829.

13. *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine and Review*, No. III, October 1833, p. 416.

14. *India Gazette*—daily edition, September 30, 1834.

15. *India Gazette & with which is incorporated the Bengal Chronicle*, October 3, 1834 (Vol. LIV, No. 3684).

16. *Ibid.*

17. *India Gazette*, December 30, 1834, Supplement.

them is the last... When the *India Gazette* Newspaper & Stock was purchased and added to the *Bengal Harkaru*, the daily edition of the former paper, merged in the latter journal, and the tri-weekly edition was joined to the *Bengal Chronicle*... During the ten years that have elapsed, the great majority of Subscribers have deserted so regularly to the daily edition, that the Proprietor is compelled to request the remainder to do likewise..."

THE CALCUTTA LITERARY GAZETTE (1826)

The *Calcutta Literary Gazette* came out in January 1826, and was thus advertised in the *Bengal Harkaru* on January 2, 1826 :

“*The Calcutta Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres, Science and the Arts* (a new Series of *Bengal Weekly Messenger*)¹ consisting of 2 quarto sheets, the 1st devoted to the Asiatic and the 2nd to European Literature ; published every Sunday Morning ; price per annum payable in advance, 20 Rs. or per month 2 Rs.”

We get further details of it in another advertisement in the *Bengal Harkaru* in 1828, on August 22 :

“It was originally established as a Sunday number for subscribers to the *Bengal Harkaru* which from the small weight allowed by Government, could not be made to contain much literary intelligence except to the exclusion of equally interesting and more important matter. It was considered also desirable from its being published on a day when no other paper appeared.”

In 1829 Capt. D. L. Richardson who had already earned journalistic experience and reputation as the proprietor and joint-editor of the *London Weekly Review* joined the Bengal Harkaru Establishment. *The Literary Gazette* was placed under his management and experienced an “extraordinary

1. The *Bengal Weekly Messenger* : It was commenced in early 1824 as a weekly edition of the *Bengal Harkaru*, published on Sunday morning, vide the *Quarterly Oriental Magazine*, March 1824, p. XXXI.

rapid increase in the circulation." By November 1829, it had a weekly circulation of 350 copies.²

Commenting on the popularity of the *Calcutta Literary Gazette*, J. H. Stocqueler, in his review of the Calcutta Press, compared it with its namesake published in London and wrote³—"Between the general appearance of the *London Literary Gazette* and this publication there is little or no difference; but there is a wide difference between the two periodicals in other respects. *The London Literary Gazette*, conducted by Mr. Jerdan, takes for its guiding principle the safe doctrine of nil admirari, nil vituperare and is, as to all its pretensions to originality of criticism, supremely stupid and lackadaisical. Our *Calcutta Literary Gazette*... is on the contrary remarkable for a refinement in criticism and a singular purity of taste..." The highest encomium for any Indian periodical of the time!

Since 1834 there was a major alteration in the internal management of the *Calcutta Literary Gazette* as we get⁴:

"*The Calcutta Literary Gazette*... is undergoing change of proprietorship from the 1st of January next year... this will be transferred to its present Editor (D. L. Richardson) who will henceforth concentrate upon it his undivided attention."

Under the new proprietorship it survived till December 1835, and then we get the following notice of its closure in the *Calcutta Courier*⁵:

"The close of the year... brings some change in the periodical press... Two Weekly Journals, the *Reformer* and the *Calcutta Literary Gazette*, have announced their joint absorption into the *Bengal Herald*, which in fact means their extinction... we can not look upon their absorption without regret and as somewhat of a reproach to taste of the Indian public, that a periodical of so much literary merit as the *Calcutta Literary*

2. *Bengal Harkaru*, November 25, 1829.

3. *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine and Review*, No. III, October 1833, p. 419.

4. *Bengal Harkaru*, December 9, 1833.

5. *Calcutta Courier*, December 28, 1835.

Gazette... should after so many years of independent existence be suffered to expire..."

After long 18 years it got a rebirth on May 21, 1853, with the title—*The Calcutta Literary Gazette and Journal of Science and the Arts*. The editorial management rested with Capt. D. L. Richardson who gave up the charge in April 1857, being on his way back to England after long sojourn in India.⁶ And then this was given up in October 1857, with the publication of the issue for October 10, 1857.

6. *Hindoo Patriot*, April 30, 1857, p. 138.

THE INDIAN MAGAZINE (1826)

In April 1826, came out the monthly periodical, the *Indian Magazine*—"the work of young and experienced writers, educated chiefly if not entirely in this country."¹

This was not well received by the public and was adversely reviewed in the contemporary papers. The work did not improve and on publication of its third Number in June it was again subjected to adverse criticism.²

Finally, on publication of the fifth Number in August, the periodical was given up and we get it in the *Government Gazette* on August 17, 1826 : "The *Indian Magazine* is discontinued, it appears, in consequence of the secession of some of its contributors, and the inadequate encouragement it has received from the public. We are not surprised at these events ...the *Magazine*, in some instance, displayed a want of regard for delicacy and decorum..."

1. *John Bull*, April 14, 1826.

2. *Ibid*, June 10, 1826.

THE CHRISTIAN INVESTIGATOR (1826)

In September 1826, came out the *Christian Investigator* as a monthly periodical, printed and published at the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta.¹ In a review of its first Number the *Bengal Harkaru* observed: "It seems to be conducted with great good sense and good taste and must be acceptable to the seriously disposed portion of the community in India." The *John Bull* praised it as of "strictly religious and devotional character."²

It, however, did not survive for long. The 8th Number came out with the notice of its closure in which it was asserted that this was "not owing to a deficiency either of materials or of subscribers."³ No further information is available of this short lived periodical.

1. *Bengal Harkaru*, September 16, 1826.

2. *John Bull*, March 21, 1827.

3. *Ibid.*, April 30, 1827.

THE CALCUTTA CHRONICLE (1827)

The Calcutta Chronicle came into publication as a ter-weekly periodical in the last week of January 1827, on the strength of the license issued on January 25, 1827,¹ owned and edited by Mr. William Adam.² We get the following background story of starting of the *Calcutta Chronicle*³ :

On December 8, 1826, Mr. Monte D'Rozario, the proprietor of the *Bengal Chronicle*, was served with notice by Government that the license for his paper would be revoked for violation of the provisions of the Press Regulations. Mr. James Sutherland, previously of the *Calcutta Journal*, was then its editor. The proprietor made a respectful and humble appeal to the Government to allow the paper to continue under another editor as otherwise he would heavily suffer financially for the investment he had made in this to earn bread for his poor family. Government withdrew the notice for revocation of the license. Accordingly Mr. William Adam took over the editorial management of the paper relinquished by Mr. James Sutherland. But shortly after this Mr. Adam

1. *Bengal Harkaru*, June 1, 1827.
2. The Government letter dated May 31, 1827, withdrawing license of the *Calcutta Chronicle* was addressed to "Mr. William Adam and Mr. Villiers Holcroft, Proprietors of the *Calcutta Chronicle*." But the reply to this letter dated 1st of June, 1827, stands in the name of W. Adam "Sole Proprietor of the *Calcutta Chronicle*." Copy of the letter from Government is available in the Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1831-32, Vol. 9, Paper 735-I, at p. 123 and the copy of the reply is available in the *Bengal Harkaru*, June 4, 1827.
3. *Asiatic Journal*, October 1827, pp. 411-12.

gave up his relation with the *Bengal Chronicle* and set up the *Calcutta Chronicle* and the *Bengal Chronicle* was taken over by the proprietors of the *Bengal Harkaru*, Messrs. Samuel Smith and Co.

The *Calcutta Chronicle* could not survive for long. We get the following notice in the *Bengal Harkaru* on June 1, 1827 :

"We regret to announce that the license of the *Calcutta Chronicle* was withdrawn yesterday. The fact and the reason are stated in the following letter (from the Chief Secretary to the Government, dated May 31, 1827).

"To Mr. William Adam

&

Mr. Villiers Holcroft,

Proprietors of the *Calcutta Chronicle*,

General Dept.

Gentlemen—The general tenor of the contents of the *Calcutta Chronicle* having been for sometime past highly disrespectful to the Government, and to the Hon'ble the Court of Directors and that paper of the 29th instant in particular, comprising several paragraphs in direct violation of the Regulation regarding the Press...the Rt. Hon'ble the Vice President in Council has resolved that the license granted to you ...for the printing and publishing of the *Calcutta Chronicle* be cancelled and it is hereby cancelled...from the present date..."

Subsequent to this, we get it in the *Bengal Chronicle* on August 16, 1827 :

"It is known to those of our subscribers, who took the *Calcutta Chronicle*, that an appeal has been made by the late proprietors for pecuniary assistance to enable them to discharge debt of Sa. Rs. 4000 incurred by that concern during its brief career.

"The sudden suppression of a newspaper must necessarily produce loss ; but on this occasion, the loss was augmented by the subsequent refusal to grant a license for a new paper to a person disposed to purchase the types, presses etc.

"The only alternative was a sale by auction to the serious depreciation of the property. The parties are not in a situa-

tion to provide the sum that is deficient, trifling as it may seem...and it is our object to give a wider circulation to the case than was contemplated by the...proprietors; and to notify our readiness to receive subscription for their relief.

"The circumstances too, appear to warrant a more extended appeal, than has been adopted; for the *Chronicle* was established on popular principles, and is supposed to have fallen in a popular cause..."

In reply to this appeal subscription poured in which were duly acknowledged in the pages of the *Bengal Chronicle*.⁴

4. *Bengal Chronicle*, August 18, 28 & 30, 1827, pp. 261, 310 & 324.

THE ORIENTAL OBSERVER (1827)

On February 18, 1827, came out the *Oriental Observer* with the following notice :

“This day is published...No. 1 of *The Oriental Observer*, a New Weekly Paper.

“Numerous applications having been made to the Proprietors of the *John Bull*, to publish a Sunday Edition of that paper, *The Oriental Observer* has been commenced to supply the want complained of...”

We get further particulars of this periodical from following advertisement¹ :

“This paper is published every Sunday morning at a monthly subscription of two rupees... The plan upon which the *Observer* is conducted is to give a Summary of events of the past week... Lists of Deaths and Marriages throughout India, Tide and Meteorological Tables etc., etc. rendering the work as useful records for transmission to England...”

Shortly after this there was a change in the editorial guideline which made the *Oriental Observer* a predominantly literary journal. This was notified through a notice² : “What we principally desire is contributions, whether in prose or poetry, of which the subject matter shall be Indian...of a local or Oriental description.”

The Oriental Observer was printed and published by

1. *Oriental Observer*, July 15, 1827.

2. *Ibid.*, June 29, 1828, p. 572.

George Pritchard, printer and publisher for the *John Bull* at the Hindoostanee Press, Fancy Lane.

From an editorial notice of the Calcutta periodicals in the *Bengal Harkaru* on November 25, 1829, we get that the *Oriental Observer* was Tory in political tone and its subscribers amounted to 150.

In May 1833, the *John Bull* passed into the proprietorship of Mr. J. H. Stocqueler who redesignated it as *Englishman* since October 1, 1833. Subsequent to this, on November 6, 1833, we get the following 'Notice' in the *Englishman* :

"Mrs. Pritchard has the honour to announce to her Friends and the Public³, that having prevailed upon the Editor of the *Englishman* to afford his assistance in the conduct and superintendence of the *Oriental Observer* that publication will from the 1st January next assume a new form, and appear under the advantage of improved type and paper. The form of the *London Spectator* appearing to be one of the most popular for a hebdomadal publication, Mrs. Pritchard has resolved to adopt it, leaving the selection and arrangement of literary matter entirely to the Editor of the *Englishman*..."

The association of the editor of the *Englishman* with the editorial management of the *Oriental Observer* did not last long as we get in the following notice⁴ :

"As an opinion seems to be entertained in some quarters that there is a connection between the *Englishman* and the *Oriental Observer*...we think it right to say that excepting that, the *Oriental Observer* is printed at the *Englishman* office and that we very sincerely desire its prosperity and rejoice at the great success it has experienced, we have no connection with it whatever."

3. In the meantime, since the last notice, George Pritchard died, and *Oriental Observer* was being conducted for the benefit of the widow of Mr. Pritchard; *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine and Review*, No. III, October, 1833, p. 419.

4. *Englishman*, October 13, 1835, extracted in the *Calcutta Courier*, October 14, 1835.

With the close of 1841 the independent existence of the *Oriental Observer* came to an end and we get the following announcement in the *Friend of India* on January 6, 1842 :

"The *Oriental Observer* has been absorbed in the *Bengal Herald* which had previously absorbed the *Literary Gazette* and the *Reformer*."

THE CALCUTTA GAZETTE AND THE COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER (1828)

The Commercial Advertiser was first ushered into circulation in January 1823, under the title of the *Daily Advertiser*, a free advertising sheet containing cheap advertisements only and gratuitously dropped at door steps every morning.¹ On October 1, 1828, it underwent a change of title and became the *Calcutta Gazette and Commercial Advertiser*. It also underwent a transformation of character from a free advertising sheet to a daily paper (Sunday excepted) with subscription fixed at "Twelve Rupees per Annum, or Four Rupees per Quarter to be paid in advance." The "Prospectus" thus gave out the outline of its contents for future² :

About three-fourths of its space would contain advertisements. The rest—last one and half pages or so—would first contain "Selections of all the best articles, both Local and European, which may be truly called News" and which would "afford its subscribers succinct and unbiased account of what passes in the world." Then, one column or more "as occasion permits" would "be daily occupied with useful extracts, complete in themselves, chiefly from works placed by their price beyond common reach." Thirdly, there would be a section named "The Gleaner" which would contain an article "useful to the whole, but particularly to the Commercial Community, taken from Dr. Kelly's *Cambist*, a scientific work of the highest authority but very expensive."

Since January 1829, the size of the paper was enlarged and

1. *Calcutta Gazette & Commercial Advertiser*, October 1, 1828.

2. *Ibid.*

its subscription enhanced (Rs. 3/- per month, Rs. 8/- per quarter and Rs. 24/- per annum, payable in advance).

After a period of long ten years the paper underwent another change—both in title and contents, as will be evident from the following notice in the *Bengal Harkaru* on March 29, 1838 :

“The Proprietor of the *Commercial Advertiser* has long felt—the desirableness of having his paper furnished with an Editorial. He is therefore happy in being able to announce his subscribers and the public in general, that he has engaged the services of an experienced gentleman who will supply this desideratum...the Editor will be guided by a regard to the principles of an enlightened and liberal policy, avoiding, on the one hand the Scylla of Toryism and on the other hand the Charybdis of Radicalism... Subscription Co's Rupees 2-8 annas, payable 4 months in advance or Rs. 4, payable monthly... It has been found necessary to introduce also a slight addition in the title...which will be in future *The Daily Calcutta Intelligencer and Commercial Advertiser*. The alteration will take place from Monday, the 2nd Proximo...”

On March 19, 1839, the *Daily News* got merged with it.³ Thereafter it continued for more than two years—till it was purchased by Mr. James Hume, a barrister in the Supreme Court, Calcutta, who started to publish in its stead the *Calcutta Star*, from July 1, 1841.

This daily paper was originally set up by Mr. A. E. Kuhn, a native of Switzerland who could speak “with ease and fluency, German, French, Italian and English, and was able to make himself well understood in the native languages.”⁴ Here he was engaged in business. Mr. Kuhn subsequently⁵ disposed it of to Mr. M. L. Mendes⁶ (of Messrs. Mendes &

3. *Friend of India*, March 21, 1839, p. 182.

4. *Ibid.*, September 17, 1840, p. 598.

5. Mr. Kuhn made this disposal at any time after March 1838.. For, in an advertisement in the *Bengal Harkaru* on March 30, 1838, we get him as the proprietor of this paper.

6. *Friend of India*, September 17, 1840, p. 598.

Co.). Mr. Mendes carried it on till June 1841, and then he disposed off to Mr. James Hume,⁷ barrister in the Calcutta Supreme Court. It was then in an unsatisfactory state of affairs. Possibly this was due to a libel suit in the Supreme Court in which Mr. Mendes became involved for an article in his paper in which he implicated one Mr. Kent Hume and several others in an alleged attempt at murder.⁸

We get that for sometime one Mr. Fenwick, an Attorney of the Calcutta Bar,⁹ and then Mr. A. J. Whiffen¹⁰ acted as editor for this paper till its purchase by Mr. Hume.

7. Ibid., June 17, 1841, p. 370.

8. Ibid., May 18, 1841, p. 291.

9. Ibid., April 2, 1840, p. 212.

10. Ibid., July 8, 1841, p. 421.

THE GLEANINGS IN SCIENCE (1829)

In January 1829, came out the *Gleanings in Science*—a monthly periodical printed at the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta.

The *Gleanings* “was originally intended, chiefly a vehicle for reprinting interesting articles from the English journals” but in practice it soon became “almost, if not entirely, original.”¹ In the first three issues—January to March, 1829—“Reprints” and “Originals” covered the pages in the proportion of half and half while in the fourth, “Reprints” were reduced to one-fourth and since the issue for May of the year, the contents were almost all original communications.

The contents of the *Gleanings* in the three years of its existence covered “subjects of practical utility” as well as “the investigations to which the public societies of India have devoted themselves,”² viz., Indigo, Colouring matters, Sugar, Bridges, Cooling of liquors, Raising water, Strength of timber, Internal communication by roads and canals, Boat building, Steam navigation of rivers, Architecture, Draining of towns, Ventilation of houses, etc., etc.

The following list of selected articles in the first year reveals the wide range of interest covered by the contributors :

1. On the Principles by which we ought to be guided in cutting and shoeing the Hoof of the Horse (March 1829).
2. Results of a Series of Experiments on the Elasticity

1. *Gleanings in Science*, 1829 ; Preface to the First Volume, p. ix.

2. Ibid.

and Transverse Strength of different kinds of Timber (May 1829).

3. On the Expediency of introducing Machinery into India (May 1829).
4. Details of several Borings made in Calcutta in search of a Spring of Fresh Water (June 1829).
5. On the Firs of the Casiya Range, and the Possibility of transporting them into the Brahmaputra (July 1829).
6. Some Particulars regarding the Mineral Productions of Bengal (October 1829).
7. Experiments of Evaporation, made in the Vicinity of Calcutta (October 1829).
8. Tables exhibiting a daily Register of the Tides in the River Hugli at Calcutta, 1805 to 1823 ; with Observations on the Results thus obtained (October 1829).
9. Remedy for Cholera (November 1829).
10. On the Produce of the Soil and Rent of Land in Hindustan (November 1829).
11. Statement of the Expense attending the Manufacture of Raw Sugar (Gur) in the districts of Saharanpur and Muzaffarpur (November 1829).
12. Table showing the market price of Grain etc. in Lower Bengal, from the year 1700 to 1813 (December 1829).

The contents of the *Gleanings* became more varied and enriched in the second and the third years of its publication. In the second year the Asiatic Society of Bengal selected it "as a vehicle for publishing all the minor communications made to them, the ephemeral interest attaching to which, renders them unsuitable to publication in the regular volume of their *Researches*, on account of the necessary delay of printing a large work."³

On the recommendation of the Revenue Board in March 1829, the Government ordered that the *Gleanings* "should be

3. Ibid., 1830, Preface to the Second volume, p. vi.

placed on the same footing with the *Government Gazette* newspaper" and would be "chargeable with two-thirds of the postage."⁴ In the third year, since March 1831, the Government further granted it the privilege of transmission through the post office free of postage as considerable portion of its space contained print of valuable official documents of scientific nature.⁵

The Gleanings in Science was originally under the editorial management of Capt. James D. Herbert, of the Bengal Infantry and Acting Deputy Surveyor General and Superintendent of Revenue Survey, Bengal.⁶ On his appointment as Astronomer to His Majesty the King of Oudh in the last part of 1831, he relinquished his charge of the *Gleanings in Science* which now devolved upon one of the Secretaries of the Asiatic Society.⁷ He was James Prinsep, F.R.S.⁸

With the conclusion of the third volume, the *Gleanings in Science* came to an end with the following notice to the subscribers⁹ :

"...The work has now, however, become so intimately connected with the proceedings of the Asiatic Society, that it has been thought advisable, with the concurrence of the president & members to cement its union with that learned Institution, by making it...the organ of publication for the Society's proceedings. From the 1st of January 1832, therefore, the title of the work will be *Journal of the Asiatic Society*..."

The Gleanings in Science was largely patronised. The subscription list with the first volume containing about 180 names included the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, Rt. Hon'ble the Governor General of India, Hon'ble the Mem-

4. Ibid., April 1829; "To Subscribers."

5. Ibid., March 1831, "Notice to Subscribers and Correspondents."

6. 'Dedication page', 1st volume of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1832.

7. *Gleanings in Science*, December, 1831; "Notice to Correspondents & Subscribers."

8. C. E. Buckland, op. cit., p. 342.

9. *Gleanings in Science*, December 1831; "Notice to Correspondents and Subscribers."

bers of the Governor General's Council, W. B. Bayley and Sir C. T. Metcalfe, Hon'ble Sir E. Ryan, Pu. Jus. of the Supreme Court, and the Venerable Arch Deacon Corrie, and to which were added further names in the second year, including the Rt. Rev. Lord Bishop of Calcutta. But we meet with only two native gentlemen in this list—Baboo Poorsun Coomar Thakoor (in the list for the first year) and Parsidhanarain Singh of Benares (in the list for the third year).

THE HOSPERUS (1829)

It was a small evening paper¹ under editorial management of H. L. V. Derozio,² the reputed teacher in the Hindoo College. Derozio set it up in or about February 1829, and conducted it during his connexion with the Hindoo College.³ He possibly gave it up as he decided to commence the *East Indian*,⁴ a large daily paper, in 1831.

1. *Bengal Obituary*, op. cit., p. 104.
2. Peary Chand Mitter, *A Biographical Sketch of David Hare*, Calcutta (1877), p. 27.
3. Bholanath Chunder, *Raja Digamber Mitra, C.S.I., his life and character*, Vol. I, Calcutta (1896), p. 14.
4. *Oriental Magazine*, October 1843, pp. 379-80.

THE BENGAL HERALD (1829)

On May 1829, Saturday night, came out the *Bengal Herald*, sub-titled the *Weekly Messenger*. According to the prospectus¹ :

“This Publication is intended as an Hebdomadal Record of the passing events in India, embracing the Political, Commercial and Literary intelligence relative to the Eastern Hemisphere, and having a portion of its columns devoted to information on the same subjects derived from the Western World.....Respecting the line of politics to be pursued, it may be here sufficient to observe, that truth and impartiality will be the leading principles, and endeavouring to steer clear of Scylla and Charybdis, the column of the *Herald* shall be left open to all parties, though influenced by none.....”

The guiding principles and politics of the *Bengal Herald* was thus elaborated² :

“.....We believe that much of the ill-feeling and party feuds in Calcutta, have been caused by newspaper disputes, and if the Public press be made subservient to private quarrels, it becomes a curse instead of a blessing. We would be glad to see the tone of the public journals purified, that instead of resorting to name-calling, and appealing to the passions, sound and temperate arguments would be used,.....”

The *Bengal Herald* was originally a joint venture of six gentlemen—R.M. Martin, Dwarkanath Tagore, Prussuna Coomar

1. Prospectus quoted in the *Bengal Herald*, May 9, 1829, p. 16.

2. *Bengal Herald*, June 6, 1829, p. 74.

Tagore, Rammohun Roy, Neel Ruttan Holdar and Rajkissen Singh.

Regarding Rammohun Roy's participation in this joint journalistic venture we are to recollect that on promulgation of the Press Regulations in 1823 by the then officiating Governor General Adam, he gave up the publication of his *Mirat-ul-Akhbar* as a protest against the restrictions on the freedom of Press. After a lapse of about six years, with those Regulations still on the Statue Book, we find him undertaking this fresh venture. The virtual freedom enjoyed by the Press under William Bentinck possibly made the Raja to move in this direction. Moreover there seems to have another compelling necessity. The consideration of the renewal of the East India Company's Charter by the Parliament being round the corner the time was now ripe for moving petitions for the Parliament on various issues.

The Bengal Herald occupies an important place in the history of the English Press in Bengal. For, it was the first regular venture of the natives in the field of English journalism. Officially R. M. Martin had the editorial responsibility.³ But in the columns of the *Bengal Herald* we mostly get reflection of the views of Rammohun Roy, viz., in the piece "On the Prosperity of Bengal in 1829."⁴

Unfortunately the native participation with the *Bengal Herald* did not last long. In a notice "To the Public" in the *Bengal Herald* of August 8, 1829, we get⁵ :

"We have to intimate, that the following Native Gentlemen have ceased to be Proprietors of the *Bengal Herald*—viz. Rammohun Roy, Dwarkanath Tagore, Prussuna Coomar Tagore, and Neil Rutten Holdar..."

The only native now having proprietorship in the *Bengal Herald* was Rajkissen Singh. Within a few months the sole proprietorship passed off to M/s. Samuel Smith & Co., the proprietors of the *Bengal Harkaru*, who converted it into a "weekly compendium" of the *Bengal Harkaru and Chronicle*.⁶

3. *Bengal Herald*, August 8, 1829, p. 219.

4. *Ibid.*, June 13, 1829, p. 89.

5. *Ibid.*, August 8, 1829, p. 217.

6. *Ibid.*, November 29, 1829.

Already there was a change in the editorship of the paper. Mr. Martin vacated the chair and returned to England.⁷ Capt. D. L. Richardson who was then editing the *Literary Gazette* was placed in charge of its editorial management.⁸

During the period of native association the *Bengal Herald* enjoyed considerable popularity as we can gather from the notice of the printer that "to meet the wishes of the public, fresh editions will be struck off, as far as No. ten."⁹ In November 1829, it had 250 subscribers, quite a respectable number as per standard of the time.¹⁰

There must have been substantial number of subscribers of the *Bengal Herald* in the mofussil. For, a dak edition was published "on lighter paper, to reduce, as far as possible, the expense of Postage."¹¹

Gradually the *Bengal Herald* became a "Weekly Edition of the *Bengal Harkaru and Chronicle*" and came to be published every Sunday morning."¹²

Since the first week of January 1836, two weekly periodicals—the *Literary Gazette* and the *Reformer*—were incorporated with the *Bengal Herald*¹³ and subsequent to that it was thus advertised¹⁴: "*The Bengal Herald: A Weekly Misc. Journal. . . . which embodies an unusual variety of political, literary, military and commercial matter including articles on various subjects written expressly for its pages. . . an original Abstract of the News of the Week. . . etc. etc. . .*"

In January 1842, the *Oriental Observer* became absorbed with the *Bengal Herald*.¹⁵

Fianally, with the close of the year 1843 the *Bengal Herald* came to an end with the following notice on December 30, 1843 :

7. *Bengal Harkaru*, September 2, 1829.

8. *Ibid.*, September 5, 1829.

9. *Bengal Herald*, July 18, 1829, p. 169.

10. *Bengal Harkaru*, November 25, 1829.

11. *Bengal Herald*, May 30, 1829, p. 64.

12. *Bengal Harkaru*, January 6, 1832, advertisement.

13. *Calcutta Courier*, December 28, 1835.

14. *Bengal Harkaru*, July 5, 1836.

15. *Bengal Herald*, January 1, 1842, p. 1.

"The original object of the publication of the *Bengal Herald*... was to furnish the readers... with an hebdomadal publication of Literature and Miscellaneous Intelligence, of a different character, to that supplied by the Daily Journals... at that time much wanted... In process of time this want ceased to be felt—each daily paper has now its Literary and Scientific corner... It is intended, therefore, for the future, to consider this paper as a part of the *Bengal Harkaru*—a sort of Weekly Supplement which will be issued to Subscribers to the Daily Journal without extra charge. To Non-subscribers to the Daily Journal—it will be forwarded hereafter, at a reduced charge of ten rupees per annum, if paid in advance, or one rupee per month for broken periods of a year...."

The *Bengal Herald* seems to have started with great promise reflecting the characteristic progressive outlook of the liberal group led by Rammohun Roy. The early unfortunate change of proprietorship deprived it of its original potentiality. The departure of R. M. Martin from the post of editorship was a further handicap in this respect and though the paper remained comparatively popular during the rest of its career it played rather the part of a tag-boat to the *Bengal Harkaru* than an independent progressive one.

THE CHRISTIAN INTELLIGENCER (1829)

In July 1829, came out the *Christian Intelligencer*¹—a “convenient and independent medium for Church of England Missionary and general Religious Intelligence”² and conducted on the principle of the Evangelical Episcopalians.³ It was to contain “original papers and Extracts on all Subjects connected with Religion, Morals and the Sciences, with special regard to the Religious Improvement of British India.”⁴

A new series of the work commenced since January 1831, when the scope for its contents was enlarged. It would now contain also the informations relating to the society, manners, customs and superstitions of the natives, their proverbs, remarkable native characters both in ancient and in modern times, Indian antiquities and geography and such other topics.⁵

The pages of the *Christian Intelligencer*, it so appears, were open to communications on matters highly controversial amongst the Mission workers of the C. M. S. itself. Under the heading—“Salaries of Native Missionaries and Catechists”—during the months of January to September 1841, as many as 28 ‘Letters to Editor’ were published on this topic. The discussion hinged on the issue of the pay of the native workers vis-a-vis their European brethren. The letters were under pseudonyms or were anonymous but contents reveal

1. *John Bull*, July 21, 1829, advertisement for the 1st Number of the *Christian Intelligencer*.
2. *Christian Intelligencer*, April 1854. Advertisement Sheet.
3. *Friend of India*, July 2, 1846, p. 425.
4. *John Bull*, July 21, 1829 ; advertisement.
5. *Christian Intelligencer*, June 1838 ; unnumbered page.

the identity of the authors of one section of these as European workers and of the other section as native workers.

In 1843 a letter from the parent Committee of the C.M.S. in London enclosing a resolution therewith was received in Calcutta which contained the direction that "the Society's connection with the *Christian Intelligencer* should cease at the close of the present year."⁶ There is no mention of any reason for this in the proceedings. This might have been due to the public ventilation of grievances regarding salary and perquisites of the Mission workers in the columns of the *Christian Intelligencer*. The direction does not appear to have been complied with. For, we get the *Christian Intelligencer* published under the aegis of the Calcutta Corresponding Committee of the C.M.S. as usual even after this. And at least till for the year 1845, we get the receipts and disbursements on account of this regularly incorporated in the Abstract of Receipts and Disbursements of the Calcutta Corresponding Committee of the C.M.S.⁷

The subscription rate for the *Christian Intelligencer* was originally rupee one per single copy. There was however two annual rates, rupees six for the Missionary subscribers and rupees nine for all others. In January 1852, the annual rates were lowered—to rupees four and six respectively. In consequence of the reductions the publication became burdened with a debt of rupees seven hundred in course of four years from 1852 to 1855 and hence the rates were raised from January 1856 to rupees five and rupees eight respectively, sufficient to keep the publication in a paying position.⁸

The identity of the editor or editors of the *Christian Intelligencer* in the early years is not known to us. The first editor of whom we come to know precisely was Rev. George Pickance.⁹ He was possibly in the editorial chair at the com-

6. Proceedings of the meeting of the Calcutta Corresponding Committee of the C.M.S., September 7, 1843; MSS.

7. Reports of the Calcutta Corresponding Committee of the C.M.S., 25th Report (1843) to 27th Report (1845); Abstracts of Receipts and Disbursements.

8. *Christian Intelligencer*, April 1856, unnumbered page.

9. *Bengal Obituary*, op. cit., p. 260.

mencement of the new series in 1831. Then we come to know of Rev. Boswell who relinquished his charge to Rev. Innes in April or May of 1841.¹⁰ Rev. Innes also became the Secretary of the Committee and possibly since this time the Secretary acted as ex-officio editor for the *Christian Intelligencer*. Rev. Innes was the editor for this periodical till February 1846, when he went away to Krishnagar being replaced in office by Rev. G. G. Cuthbert.¹¹

The editorial arrangement for *Christian Intelligencer* underwent a renovation in 1852 and since then two or three clergymen of the Established Church jointly determined the editorial policy and exercised editorial supervision.¹² We may presume that one of those clergymen was Rev. G.G. Cuthbert, the Secretary to the Calcutta Corresponding Committee of the C.M.S. Possibly there was a change in the editorial hands in 1855 as we get hints in the editorial article in the *Christian Intelligencer* for December, 1855.

The *Christian Intelligencer* survived beyond the period of this study.

We have no precise idea of the circulation of the *Christian Intelligencer* all along this period. In 1833 J.H. Stocqueler could ascertain the number of subscribers as amounting to 250¹³ who were according to him "serious people, and the poorer classes of Europeans and Eurasians." Possibly the *Intelligencer* could maintain this good standard of circulation all throughout our period.

10. Proceedings of the meeting of the Calcutta Corresponding Committee of the C.M.S. on 15.4.1841; MSS.

11. 28th Report of the Calcutta Corresponding Committee of the C.M.S., for 1846.

12. *Christian Intelligencer*, January 1852, pp. 1-3 and April 1854, Advertisement Sheet.

13. *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine and Review*, No. III, 1833, p. 420 and 423.

THE KALEIDOSCOPE (1829)

In the *Bengal Chronicle* in September 1827, we get the following notice of the *Kaleidoscope*¹ :

“The Prospectus of a forthcoming Magazine to be entitled, the *Kaleidoscope*, was handed over to us. The circular which accompanied it being the signature of Mr. D’Rozio, a young Indo-Briton, educated in his own country, whose poetical affusions have been so universally admitted here. We mention this circumstance, because we think it likely to operate as an inducement to the encouragement of the proposed work.”

We get further particulars of it in the *Oriental Observer* in October that year² :

“It is intended, we understand, to publish in Calcutta on the 1st of December next, a Monthly Periodical under the name of the *Kaleidoscope*, provided a sufficient number of Subscribers to it can be obtained ; the work. is to consist of papers original and select. is to be printed at the Baptist Mission Press.”

In fact the appearance of the *Kaleidoscope* was long delayed. It came out in August 1829, and we got this notice of its appearance in the *Bengal Harkaru* on August 22, 1829 :

“A new Periodical ‘*The Kaleidoscope*’ No. 1 has lately made its appearance.”

In an editorial review of the first number the *Government Gazette* on August 13, 1829, observed of it as “a pleasing and instructive vehicle of light reading.”

1. *Bengal Chronicle*, September 13, 1827, p. 559.

2. *Oriental Observer*, October 7, 1827, p. 268.

In January 1830, the 2nd volume of the *Kaleidoscope* commenced and in the first Number of this volume we get the following pieces :

1. Shakespeare's plays (No. III), pp. 1-5.
2. Iota's Budget (poem), pp. 5-12.
3. Sketches of the present state of the British India, No. III, pp. 12-19.
4. Derozio's Poems (a critical appreciation occasioned by observations on two volumes of Derozio's poems in the London periodical of James Silk Buckingham, the *Oriental Herald*, of July 1829), pp. 20-25.
5. Paper of Mr. Josiah Drayton (critical appreciation of the drama 'Old Maids'), pp. 25-29.
6. The connection of Religion with Literature, pp. 30-33.
7. Means of Happiness (a literary piece on the assumption — "Happiness is very much in our power"), pp. 34-39.
8. Views of Christianity (in reply to a critique on a late publication of Dr. Chenning, a Unitarian minister in America), pp. 39-44.

Considerable quantum of space in each Number was under poetical compositions. A few of these might have been from the pen of H. L. V. Derozio.

The *Kaleidoscope* did not survive for long. From the list of periodicals in Bengal in the beginning of 1831 submitted by James Sutherland in course of his examination before the Select Committee of the Parliament on March 16, 1832³, we get that the *Kaleidoscope* was in print then, published by J. J. Fleury. Possibly it went off publication shortly after this and we get no further mention of it.

We get the following assessment of the *Kaleidoscope* in an article in the *Oriental Magazine* in May 1843, titled "*British Indian Literature*" :

"*The Kaleidoscope* was chiefly conducted by East Indians and it was found a successful rival of the other periodicals considering the circumstances of British Indian literature, in those days, it was a publication well worthy of its conductors."

3. Reply to Question No. 1052; Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1831-32, Vol. 9, Paper 735-I, p. 121

THE CALCUTTA MAGAZINE & MONTHLY REGISTER (1830)

In the *Bengal Herald* on December 20, 1829, came out a notice from Messrs. Samuel Smith and Co., which is reproduced in gist below :

The Calcutta Magazine, Price Four Rupees : The first Number of which would be published early in January and on the 1st of every succeeding month ;—it would consist partly of the Original Essays, Tales, Reviews and Miscellaneous Local Intelligence and partly of careful Selections from the best conducted Magazines which it would also resemble in its external appearance.

A further notice¹ gave out that the new magazine would be under the editorial management of Capt. D. L. Richardson.

Accordingly in January 1830, came out the *Calcutta Magazine and Monthly Register*. The contents in the Magazine section were classified in three sub-sections—Original Papers, Spirit of the English Periodicals, Gleanings—covering a total of 139 pages.

The section of monthly Register covered the concluding pages and contained as follows :-

- (1) Abolition of Suttee (Regulation XVII of 1829, quoted in full).
- (2) General Meeting of the Inhabitants (in support of the above Regulation).
- (3) Hindu Theism.
- (4) Civil and Military Appointments.

1. Ibid., December 27, 1829, p. 510.

- (5) The Commercial Price Current.
- (6) The Domestic Retail Price Current.
- (7) Shipping Arrivals and Departures.
- (8) List of Passengers (Arrivals and Departures).
- (9) Domestic Occurrences (Births, Deaths and Marriages).

It was continued for little more than three years and then was given up by the proprietors who took up the publication of a quarterly periodical in its stead—the *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine & Review* which came out in April 1833.²

THE PARTHENON OR THE ATHENAEUM (1830)

In February 1830, came out the *Parthenon* or *Athenaeum*, printed at the India Gazette Press and intended to be a weekly periodical.¹

As to the background of this publication we get that in March 1828, Derozio joined the Hindoo College and "had wrought a change in the minds of the native youth... which will ever be remembered by those who have benefitted by it. It was then, that the first native paper in English—*The Parthenon*—was put forth under his auspices."²

We are not sure with whom its editorial management rested. At least it was not with Derozio. For, in the contemporary periodical, the *Samachar Durpan*, we get that the editor and all the contributors to the *Parthenon* were natives.³

From the *Bengal Spectator*,⁴ September 1842, we get that the first number of the *Parthenon* advocated the cause of colonisation and female education, prayed for cheap justice (in the courts of law) and condemned the superstitions of the Hindoos. From Pundit Sivnath Sastri we get that one of the contributors to it, Madhub Chundra Mullick (later a Deputy Collector), wrote in it thus of the religion of his forefathers—"If there

1. *Samachar Durpan*, February 20, 1830, extracted in the *Sangbad Patre Sekaler Katha*, Vol. I, Brajendra Nath Bandyopadhyaya, Calcutta (1356 B.S.), p. 103.
2. *Bengal Spectator*, September 1, 1842, p. 81.
3. *Samachar Durpan*, February 20, 1830, extracted in the *Sangbad Patre Sekaler Katha*, Vol. I, Brajendra Nath Bandyopadhyaya, Calcutta.
4. *Bengal Spectator*, September 1, 1842, p. 81.

is anythings that we hate from the bottom of our hearts—it is Hinduism.”⁵ Obviously the first number of the *Parthenon* startled the orthodox Hindoos and their might and influence crushed it. The second number was in print but could not be circulated. For, the periodical had to be given up under direction of Dr. H. H. Wilson, the then Visitor of the Hindoo College.⁶

5. Sivnath Sastri, *Ramtanu Lahiri O Tatkalin Banga Samaj*, Calcutta (1909), p. 91.

6. Ibid.

THE MIRROR OF THE INDIAN PRESS (1830) OR THE POLITICAL & LITERARY REGISTER

On May 1, 1830, a Saturday, came out the weekly paper, *the Mirror of the Indian Press* "Printed at the Mahindy Laul Press, Sakhareetollah, and published by the Proprietor at No. 15, Chowringhee Road, Calcutta", and priced at Rs. 9/- per quarter. It was given out as a prospectus by the proprietor¹ :

"*The Mirror of the Press* contains the News of the Past week, General Orders, Births, Marriages. Deaths, Shipping Intelligence, etc. etc. After which the opinions of the public writers on all interesting subject that have been discussed during the week, are brought into one point of view, and conflicting arguments opposed to each other. The Literary Dept. includes Extracts, Reviews and Original pieces together with all the information, that can be procured, connected with literature."

In a review of this new periodical the *John Bull* wrote that the object of the paper "is to record in opposition to each other the arguments and opinions expressed in each publication, so that the readers of the *Mirror of the Press* have a fair view of the Calcutta Newspaper production."²

The Mirror of the Indian Press though promised well "for the candid and temperate tone"³ with which it started could not

1. *Mirror of the Indian Press*, June 5, 1830, p. 87.

2. *John Bull* quoted in the *Mirror of the Indian Press*, May 6, 1830, p. 20.

3. *John Bull*, May 8, 1830.

survive for long. The last issue came out on October 30, 1830, with the notice⁴ :

".....*Mirror of the Press* will cease to be published from this day.....we commenced with the hope of rendering the publication we conducted amusing, and if we failed we are sorry for it; but the fact is we laboured under many difficulties, an imperfect press, bad health, a depressed mind, and no assistance....."



4. *Mirror of the Indian Press*, October 30, 1830, p. 419.

THE REFORMER (1831)

In February 1831, came out the *Reformer*—a weekly paper published at the Bungoo Doot Press and under native management.¹ Its avowed purpose was to provide “a channel for the lubrications of our countrymen.” Such a channel was deemed essential to make them well informed of “the cause and effects” of various institutions existing amongst them for ages “without due examination as to their natural influence on habits and moral character” which were originally established as “preventives against vices” and were presently not only “useless and burthensome” but also “inconsistent with the spirit of the age” and “directly opposed to our freedom and happiness” and hence ought to be disapproved and abandoned.²

The only available issues of the *Reformer* extend from March 18 to December 22, 1833. From these, we can however gather the salient points of the opinions advocated in this periodical.

The *Reformer* was opposed to caste distinction and coolin-polygamy. Distinction of caste was considered as a cause of country's degradation and coolin-polygamy was held up as injurious to society for increasing adultery and for checking the increase of population³. The *Reformer* was an emphatic advocate for female education—“The Female education among our countrymen has ever been one of our primary concern, as can be clearly shown by referring to our past numbers.”⁴

1. *Asiatic Journal*, August 1831; *Asiatic Intelligence*, p. 200.

2. *Ibid.*, extract from the first number of the *Reformer*.

3. *Reformer*, March 24, and April 7, 1833.

4. *Ibid.*, May 12, 1833.

During the period of the *Reformer* the demand for the marriage of the Hindoo widows could not perhaps be openly raised. Time was not yet ripe for advocacy for such a piece of radical reform. But in the columns of the *Reformer* sentiment on the distressed conditions of the widows was clearly reflected which by the time of the *Bengal Spectator* in the forties would be transformed into vocal demand for their marriage. We may cite a poetical composition—"Stanzas To A Young Widow"—as one of the examples of this sentiment.⁵

For this outlook on the various social questions of the day as reflected in the columns of the *Reformer* the ultra-radicals used to call the editor and his friends "the Half-Liberals" whilst by those who shared their sentiments they were styled as "Moderate Reformers".⁶ According to Rev. Alexander Duff the *Reformer* "Represented the sentiments of a party not large in number, but potent in rank and wealth—the party of the celebrated Rajah Rammohun Roy."⁷

The *Reformer* could foresee the Indian's desire for independence—"when the people of this country are more improved, they will naturally desire to govern themselves and will become unwilling to receive orders from so distant a country as England."⁸ It also hoped that "when that period arrives, our British rulers will not object to our independence."⁹ But in case, they did object? Possibly the answer to this question was hinted at in a poetical composition¹⁰—"Address to the Poles. Written at a time when the brave people were struggling for the independence with the Leviathan of the North." In it the Poles were exhorted to armed resistance for their freedom. Who would thus exhort the Poles to fight for independence could not possibly be oblivious of the application of force for India's independence, if required, in the last resort.

5. Ibid., October 13, 1833.

6. *India Gazette*, July 26, 1831.

7. Rev. Alexander Duff, *India and India Mission*, Edinburg, MDCCCXL, p. 643.

8. *Reformer*, September 20, 1835, quoted in the *Calcutta Courier*, December 1, 1835.

9. Ibid., November 2, 1834, quoted in the *Calcutta Courier*, December 1, 1835.

10. Ibid., March 4, 1835.

The *Reformer* used to come out on every Sunday and its subscription rate was cheap—two rupees per month or five rupees per quarter or twenty rupees per year, payable in advance. The *Reformer* had no column for advertisement, a chief source of support for periodicals of the period.

In its get up the *Reformer* had contained four pages—each with four columns. Most of this space was taken up by three major items—letters to the editor, editorials, and selections from the contemporary Indian periodicals. The columns for the letters to the editor provided an “arena of discussion on all questions connected with local politics, literature, religion, metaphysics, jurisprudence and political economy,”¹¹ and thus used to reflect the mind of the educated natives.

For its moderate views the *Reformer* could become popular both with the natives and the Europeans and in 1833 its subscribers’ list came upto four hundred—including one hundred Europeans.¹² This was remarkable particularly when we keep in mind that its rival, the *Enquirer* of Baboo K. M. Banerjea, had to be discontinued in June 1835, for want of support and that the *Bengal Spectator* could have only one hundred and seventy subscribers in 1843, about a decade later.

With the close of the year 1835 the *Reformer* was given up as we get from a notice to the subscribers¹³ :

“.....we have to inform them of an important though sudden change which we have been induced to make in the future appearance of the *Reformer*. From the next number it is to be incorporated with the *Bengal Herald* and the *Calcutta Literary Gazette*.....”

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There was some controversy and speculation over the question of proprietorship and editorship of the *Reformer*. This would be evident from the following passage in the *Samachar Durpan*¹⁴ :

11. *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine and Review*, No. III, October, 1838, p. 417.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Reformer* quoted in the *Calcutta Courier*, December 28, 1835.

14. *Samachar Durpan*, December 10, 1831, extracted in *Sangbad Patre Sekaler Katha*, Vol. I, p. 180.

“রিফর্মার কাগজের এডিটর বাবু প্রসন্নকুমার ঠাকুর বিনা আর কেহ নাই যেহেতুক জানবুল এডিটর তাঁহাকে যখন জিজ্ঞাসা করেন যে, আপনি রিফর্মার কাগজের এডিটর কিনা তখন ঐ রিফর্মার কাগজে তিনি স্বীকার করিলেন। ভোলানাথ সেনের যন্ত্রালয়ে ঐ কাগজ মুদ্রাঙ্কিত হয় এতাবমাত্র ঐ কাগজের সহিত ঐ ভোলানাথ সেনের সম্পর্ক। তিনি ঐ কাগজের কর্তা নহেন ঐ রিফর্মার কাগজের কর্তা বাবু প্রসন্নকুমার ঠাকুর ও রমানাথ ঠাকুর ও শ্যামলাল ঠাকুর।”

(Translated) : The editor of the *Reformer* is none but Baboo Prasunna Coomer Tagore. Being asked by the editor of the *John Bull* whether the editorship of the *Reformer* was with him, he admitted this in the *Reformer*. That paper is printed in the press of Bholanath Sen and that is the only relation subsisting between Bholanath Sen and that paper. He is not the proprietor of the paper. The proprietors of the *Reformer* are Baboo Prasunna Coomer Tagore, Ramanath Tagore and Shyam-lal Tagore.

The available issues of the *Reformer*, however, uniformly contain the notice : “Printed and Published every Sunday, by the Proprietor Bholanath Sen, at the Baranacey Ghose’s Street, Simlah”. The contemporary evidence on this point is thus confusing and apparently contradictory.

The Samachar Chundrica wrote in its issue of Jaishtha 4, 1238 B.S. (May 1831)¹⁵ :

“...শ্রীযুত রাধামোহন সেনের পুত্র শ্রীযুত ভোলানাথ সেন যিনি শ্রীযুত দেওয়ান শ্বারিকানাথ ঠাকুরের অধীনতায় বিষয় কর্ম করেন ঐ সেনজ...রিফর্মার নামক এক ইংরাজী সমাচার পত্র প্রকাশ করিতেছেন প্রায় মাস ত্রয়াধিক হইবে।”

(Translated) Sreejut Bholanath Sen, son of Sreejut Radha-mohun Sen, who is employed under Sreejut Dewan Dwarka-nath Tagore, is publishing an English newspaper, the *Reformer*, for more than three months.

The complete omission of the name of Prasunna Coomer Tagore here is significant. He was one of the topmost men in the native society and it is unusual that his association with the *Reformer* could have been unknown to the editor of the *Chundrica*.

The India Gazette in July 1831, observed of the *Reformer* as being conducted by a “wealthy, educated and respectable Hindoo”¹⁶ but did not specifically name him.

15. *Samachar Chundrica*, Jaishtha 4, 1238 B.S. (May 1831).

16. *India Gazette*, July 26, 1831.

In an article—"General Characteristics of the Native Newspapers"—in the *Calcutta Christian Observer*, October 1832, it has been stated: "*The Reformer* excited, on its first appearance, an unbounded curiosity chiefly from the circumstance of its being the first English Newspaper conducted by natives. But curiosity was soon gratified and gave away to disappointment when it was credibly reported, that though nominally edited by a Native of rank, it was in reality the production of an East Indian whose services were hired for the management of the editorial department."

The Samachar Durpan also again in its issue of November 14, 1832, described the *Reformer* as the paper of Baboo Prasunna Coomar Tagore, Bholanath Sen being mentioned as the printer and publisher.

Peary Chand Mittra in his biographical sketch of David Hare mentions of Prasunna Coomar Tagore as the "proprietor" of the *Reformer*.¹⁷

Pundit Sivnath Sastri also states that it was Baboo Prasunna Coomar Tagore who brought out *Reformer* in 1831.¹⁸

And according to Manmatha Nath Ghose the *Reformer* was brought out by Prasunna Coomar Tagore but not edited by him; editorial management was left to one Mr. Crowe, an European.¹⁹

These informations coming from varied sources possibly indicate that Bholanath Sen set up the *Reformer* as its proprietor and also acted as its publisher and printer. Prasunna Coomar Tagore became closely associated with it and even might have taken up the charge of its editorial guidance and management. But being a man of multifarious activities he could not look after all the functions of an editor and so an able East Indian or a European gentleman might have been employed as his assistant.

17. Peary Chand Mittra, *A Biographical Sketch of David Hare*, op. cit., p. 30.

18. Sivnath Sastri, *Ramtanu Lahiri*, op. cit., p. 117.

19. Manmatha Nath Ghose, *Manishi Bholanath Chandra*, Calcutta, 1331, B.S., p. 110.

THE ENQUIRER (1831)

On May 17, 1831, came out the *Enquirer* as a weekly periodical¹ under the editorship of Baboo Krishna Mohun Banerjea² with the declared purpose of waging war on Hindooism³ and to provide "an antidote" against the influence of "such papers as the *Reformer*."⁴ Krishna Mohun was then a teacher in the Calcutta School Society's School under the management of David Hare and he was not yet converted to Christianity (his conversion took place on October 17, 1832). According to Rev. Dr. Alexander Duff the *Enquirer* was the organ "of that small party of educated Hindoos... (who) have announced themselves to the world as free inquirer after truth."⁵ Others, however, assessed differently. *The India Gazette* on October 21, 1831, wrote : "There (in the pages of the *Enquirer*) we find almost everything that is calculated to irritate and inflame, scarcely anything to persuade and convince... the writers are young and inexperienced, imperfectly acquainted with the language in which they write, superficially informed on the religion of their forefathers... and not even professing to have any system of their own to substitute for it." And according to the *Sambad Cowmudy* the young writers of the *Enquirer* were precocious.⁶

1. *Samachar Durpan*, May 28, 1831, extracted in the *Sangbad Patre Sekaler Katha*, Vol. I, p. 175.
2. *Samachar Chundrica*; *ibid.*, p. 175.
3. *Ramtanu Lahiri, Brahman & Reformer*, translated by Sir Roper Lethbridge from original Bengali of Pandit Sivnath Shastri, London, 1913, p. 183.
4. *Enquirer*, December 1834, pp. 1-4.
5. *Calcutta Christian Observer*, October 1832, p. 183.
6. *Sambad Cowmudi* extracted in the *Sangbad Patre Sekaler Katha*, Vol. I, p. 175.

The contents of the *Enquirer* as we get from the available copies and from extracts in the contemporary papers bear reflections of the youthful mind instructed in European science, literature and philosophy through the medium of English.

The spirit of nationalism was yet to grow up but the mind of the young group behind the *Enquirer* was thoroughly primed with a national pride and they would call upon their countrymen not to approach the Europeans for assistance in matters non-essential. We may refer to an article as illustration on this point⁷ :

“Projected Native Theatre : It is rumoured that a respectable Hindoo gentleman is exerting himself for getting up a theatre among the natives. . . . We have heard that some European gentlemen. . . are to give lessons to our native actors. We are not in favour of this. . . this would give those Europeans an aristocratic feeling, and the natives. . . this painful conviction—that they are unfit to act for themselves. If Hindoos can not at the present time undertake to perform with satisfaction the intended task. . . let them exhibit in their natural colour. . . . We would wish very much to see this affair as little interfered with by Europeans as possible”

The Enquirer, however, had no ill feeling towards the British Government and according to it the conquest of India was a civilising mission⁸ : “If ever any conquest proved a blessing to the conquered it was the empire of Great Britain. . . . The kind and wise dispensations of God must be acknowledged by the improved Hindoo in timely sending a civilised and in every respect a clever people to give light where there was darkness, to elevate what was mean and to reform what was corrupt.”

The rate of subscription for the *Enquirer* was rupees two per month and at one time it had one hundred subscribers.⁹ Copies were also circulated free among the indigent natives within

7. *Enquirer* extracted in the *India Gazette*, August 1 1831.

8. *Ibid.*, February 10, 1832.

9. *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine and Review*, No. III, October 1833, p. 417.

the city; this free circulation could not be extended to the mofussil due to the postage charge.¹⁰

In December 1834, the *Enquirer* was converted into a monthly periodical. The change was thus explained in the Preliminary Observation¹¹ :

“.....The principal reason for which we determined upon converting this weekly journal into a monthly magazine was the inconvenience we felt in the preparation of the former. Punctuality of time having been necessary to the existence of a weekly paper, we would always be driven into a great hurry for its preparation in time;—and consequently since we had a higher object in view than that of a common newspaper writer, we could never bear with alacrity this inconvenience..... The present arrangements we hope will remedy the evils we encountered before, and allow us to prepare every number in such a manner as would be most calculated to benefit our country.....”

Contents of the 1st number of the monthly issue of the *Enquirer* were :

1. Preliminary Observations, pp. 1-3.
2. Education (Selection from the *Delhi Gazette*, November 5, On Medical Education for the Natives), pp. 4-7.
3. Instruction of Natives on Medical Education (Extracts of letters addressed to a Medical Gentleman in the Committee of Native Medical Education), pp. 7-8.
4. Minute on the Proceedings of the Committee of Native Medical Education (a minute by C. E. Trevelyan), pp. 8-9.
5. The Importance of An Enquiry into Christianity to an Enlightened Hindoo, pp. 10-15.
6. Abraham's Youth (extract from Harder), pp. 16-17.
7. Inscriptions on the excavated Temple near Karli (decyphered and translated by the Rev. J. Stevenson), pp. 17-19.

10. *Enquirer* extracted in the *India Gazette*, February 16, 1832.

11. *Enquirer*, December 1834, pp. 1-3.

8. Review : *The Threefold Science or the Sanhita of the Rig-Veda*, pp. 19-24.
9. The Rev. Daniel Corrie (extracted from the *Oriental Observer*), pp. 27-32.
10. Singular Properties of Number 9 (extracted from the *Saturday Magazine*), p. 32.

The Enquirer could not last long and the issue for June 1835, came out with the following notice of closure¹² :

"We have to announce to our readers that the *Enquirer* will be given up after this month and that this number will be its last..... Want of leisure occasioned by more important calls upon us, has been main reason to bring us to this resolution....."

According to the *Calcutta Courier*, the *Enquirer* was given up because the editor was "disappointed of the support he expected."¹³

12. *Enquirer*, June 1835, p. 161.

13. *Calcutta Courier*, June 19, 1835.

THE EAST INDIAN (1831)

Shortly after his resignation from the Hindoo College (in April 1831) H. L. V. Derozio set up the *East Indian*, an "ambitious daily paper."¹ It came out on June 1, 1831, and professed, notwithstanding its title, not to be exclusively devoted to any particular interest but that it would advocate the just rights of all classes of the community.² Referring to this the *Enquirer*, in an obituary notice for Derozio, wrote³ :

".....circumstance impelled Mr. Derozio to resign the situation he held at the Hindoo College. Thus thrown upon his energies at a juncture when they were most needed he soon struck out a new path for their exertions by the establishment of the *East Indian* newspaper....."

The advertisement by Derozio in the *India Gazette* on December 6, 1831, gives the following particulars :

"*The East Indian*—The Proprietor of the *East Indian* having completed his arrangements, presents the Public with the cheapest Daily Newspaper in India, and hopes to afford general satisfaction by his attention to the wishes of all whose patronage he may be so fortunate as to obtain..... It is published daily (Sunday excepted) at the monthly rate of Five Sicca Rupees, payable at the end of every month, and not in advance. It has been published since June, and ...the circulation of the *East Indian* has increased considerably since its commencement, and is daily increasing....."

1. E. W. Madge, *Henry Derozio, The Eurasian Poet & Reformer*, edited by Subir Chowdhury, Calcutta (1967), p. 14.
2. *Asiatic Journal*, December 1831, p. 169.
3. *Enquirer* extracted in the *India Gazette*, January 3, 1832.

The high journalistic idea of the conductor of the *East Indian* is well demonstrated in the following editorial observation in the paper in connection with comparison of the *Bengal Harkaru* and the *John Bull* newspapers⁴ :

".....Priority in receiving and communicating intelligence must be essential to a newspaper ; but even that priority is of secondary importance, when compared with the value which should be attached to political speculations. The former depends upon the speed of a courier or the activity of an agent ; the later upon those mental resources upon which the conductor of a newspaper should always depend. Arrangements may be easily and successfully made to secure a regular supply of all publications, which make their appearance in the remotest parts of the world ; but arrangements of ideas are not quite so readily effected...."

The East Indian even in its very brief career was not a popular paper. Thus we get from a biographical sketch of Derozio by one of his contemporaries⁵ : "Poor Derozio was not a popular Editor." And in the obituary notice for Derozio the *Government Gazette* wrote that "whatever other difference of opinion might exist among his contemporaries, as to the mode of conducting it (the *East Indian*), there could be none whatever as to the talents, the perfect honesty, and the unfettered views of the Editor."⁶

On the decease of Derozio an attempt was made to carry on the *East Indian* as we get from the following⁷ :

".....It is our present purpose to announce to the community and in an especial manner to the *East Indian* community, for the advocacy of whose interests the *East Indian* was established, that its publication will be continued as heretofore...and it is earnestly hoped that the support and patronage which were so greatly needed during the life time of Mr. Derozio, will not be withheld at a time when they are

4. *East Indian* extracted in the *Indian Gazette*, July 27, 1831.

5. *Oriental Magazine*, October 1843, p. 380.

6. *Government Gazette* extracted in the *India Gazette*, January 3, 1832.

7. *East Indian* extracted in the *India Gazette*, December 29, 1831.

much more required. . . . On this point we will only further say, that the great expenditure of money which had been incurred by the late proprietor in establishing the paper, and in its typographical improvements lately effected, will be wholly lost to his family, if the paper be not continued on its present footing with the view of making it an ultimate benefit to those concerned. . . .”

The East Indian did not, however, survive for long and we get the last mention of it as in print in the *India Gazette* on February 15, 1832. Possibly it was discontinued shortly after this.

SAMBAD SARASANGRAH (1831)

In the *Sambad Provakar*, in August 1831, appeared a letter from Baboo Swarup Chand Das of Kolutollah containing prospectus for a new weekly periodical—the *Sambad Sarasangrah*. According to the prospectus this new weekly would aim at serving men of moderate means who could not afford to buy many a vernacular paper in circulation and should thus contain extracts of intelligence and letters to the editors from all such papers, at the moderate rate of subscription for rupees two per month.¹

Subsequently the *Samachar Durpan* on October 22, 1831, informs us that on the 14th day of Aswin, 1238 B. S. (corresponding to September 29, 1831), this bilingual (English and Bengali) weekly was published.

It was under the editorial management of Baboo Benimadhaba De.²

It did not last long and we get notice of its closure in the *Samachar Durpan* on February 4, 1832.

1. Brojendra Nath Bandyopadhyaya, *Bangla Samayik Patra*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1379 B.S., p. 44.
2. *Calcutta Christian Observer*, February, 1840, p. 65.

THE INDIAN REGISTER (1832)

In the first week of February 1832, came out the *Indian Register*, a weekly periodical, with the objects to provide "free communication of the sentiments which relate to East Indian as a community and a bold declaration of the justice of the cause in which they are engaged."¹ Commenting on this first Number the *Bengal Harkaru* observed on February 10, 1832, that the "new paper is written in a free and spirited style and professes a determination to show that East Indians are keenly sensible of the injustice of the restrictions under which they labour."

Within a short time it underwent a transformation into a bi-weekly paper and we get the following advertisement of it in the *India Gazette* on May 2, 1832 :

"*The Indian Register* : Published every Wednesday and Saturday...is devoted to the promotion of the cause of the East Indians. With this view the greater part of every Number is allotted to Original Discussions. But for general readers a portion of space will be occupied by a summary of news and comments on the sentiments expressed in the other public journals....."

And shortly after this a proposal was circulated to convert the *Indian Register* into a "Daily Evening Paper at three Rupees per month".²

This move did not materialise and instead the *Indian Register* became a ter-weekly appearing on Tuesday, Thursday and

1. *India Gazette*, February 10, 1832.

2. *Ibid.*, June 16, 1832, advertisement.

Saturday, at 2 rupees a month.³ According to the proprietor himself it now had about 200 subscribers.

Again we get the following advertisement on September 28, 1832, in the *Calcutta Courier* :

"The Proprietor of the *Indian Register* begs to announce that at the instance of a few friends...it is his intention to convert this paper from a ter-weekly into a daily journal, on the 1st of October next....."

Accordingly it came out and we get in the *Reformer* on October 6, 1833 :

"*The Indian Register* has...become a daily paper from the 1st instant at the very cheap price of 3 Rs. per month. The tone of its articles and its general management also appear to be much improved".

This transformation for the *Indian Register* proved to be mis-carried and we get it in the *Reformer* on the 22nd of December, 1833 :

"We regret to announce the extinction of the *Indian Register*..... Considering the cheap rate at which this journal was published we are surprised it did not meet better support."

As to the reason for this the proprietor of the *Indian Register* gave out⁴ :

"The support which he conceived he had a right to expect, particularly from the East Indians, has been to a great extent withheld ; and many whose circumstances would have allowed, have been as behind as any who might have pleaded that as a reason for not giving their support. The *Indian Register* was...designed to be exclusively the organ of the East Indian body....."

3. *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine and Review*, No. III, October 1833, p. 417.

4. *Indian Register* extracted in the *Reformer*, December 22, 1833.

THE SPECTATOR IN INDIA (1832)

In the *Bengal Harkaru* on February 20, 1832, we get the following advertisement :

"On Friday, the second of March, and every consecutive Tuesday and Friday will be published *The Spectator in India*. . . . (It) will be conducted on the same plan as the '*Spectator*'; being short easy letters totally disconnected with Politics, embracing every subject useful and entertaining, moral and instructive, tending to improve the rising Generation, while it exposes the follies of the age, satirises its vices and laughs at its absurdities. The projectors pledge themselves to avoid all scurrility and personal abuse. . . . From the ladies of Calcutta, in particular, we request Patronage and support, showing ourselves the uncompromising Champions of the fair sex. . . . Terms of subscription, 3 Rupees per month. . . . Editors, 43½ Clive Street."

Accordingly, on March 2, 1832, came out *the Spectator in India*, printed at the Spectator Press, No. 2, Wellington Square. A couplet from Pope was inscribed with the title :

"Manners with fortunes, humors turn with climes,
Tenets with books, and principles with times."

Contents of the 1st Number were :

1. Introduction.
2. Manners As They Are, No. 1.
3. Sketches From Real Life, No. 1.
4. Lottery (a composition of humour in the form of an autobiography from an English maid who came to her rich uncle in India, then an El Dorado in the eyes of parents of young maids searching for a partner in life).

5. Eccentric characters, No. 1.
6. Ode : Paraphrased from Dewani Hafiz (a poem).
7. On reading an account in the Newspapers of the Coles being up in Arms, in consequence of the oppressive measures of the Zamindaries (a poem).

All the compositions were in light vein and covered full eight pages. Since the tenth Number the *Spectator in India* became a weekly coming out on Saturdays, with twelve pages.

The last issue of the *Spectator in India* as we get is the 27th Number coming out on August 4, 1832. Possibly it went off publication after that.

THE CALCUTTA COURIER (1832)

On April 4, 1832, appeared the *Calcutta Courier*. In fact it came out of the ashes of the *Government Gazette* as becomes evident from the following notice in the columns of that paper on March 27, 1833 :

"An official Notification in our paper of this day announces that, after the present month, all official Advertisements will appear in the *Calcutta Gazette*, a weekly publication to be devoted exclusively to that object. The Newspaper now designated The *Government Gazette*, will consequently, cease after the present number, and in lieu thereof will be issued, on Wednesday and Saturday evenings, a paper without official character, under the name of the *Calcutta Courier* ... its price having been fixed at Ten Rupees per quarter..."

After a year a daily edition of the *Calcutta Courier* was also commenced and we get the following notice of it¹ :

"The *Calcutta Courier* will from the 1st April next be published every Evening. Terms of subscription 20 Rs. per quarter or 80 Rs. per Annum or 16 Rs. and 64 Rs. respectively, if paid in advance."

The *Calcutta Courier* was owned by the Bengal Military Orphan Asylum and as all profits out of it would go to the fund of the Asylum for the purpose of charity it enjoyed a unique patronage from Government. It could transfer to its columns the Government Notifications and the General Orders from the *Calcutta Gazette* earlier than any other paper. Naturally this was disliked and denounced by others as "one of those advantages conferred by the Government Charity at the expense of the

1. *India Gazette*, March 27, 1833.

private enterprise and private property" and which operated as a "severe and unfair check to Newspaper Competition".²

By the middle of 1833 the circulation of the daily edition of the *Calcutta Courier* was about 175 copies while that of the half-weekly edition rose to about 225 copies. According to Stocquerle the greater part of these circulated amongst the military "partly on account of its connection with the Orphan Press". He also estimated the qualities of the *Calcutta Courier* thus³: ".....where the commerce, steam, or figures are concerned the leaders of the *Courier* are able and accurate; but in treating political or local questions of moment they are frequently charged with flippancy...or selfsufficiency".

In any case the *Calcutta Courier* could carry on smoothly under the editorship of Mr. G. A. Prinsep⁴ who retired with the passing off of the year 1837 as he betook himself to "private life".⁵ And with that troubles began. In January 1838, Mr. F. Osborne took over the editorial charge of the *Courier*.⁶ But his relation with management immediately became bitter, possibly over the high rate of his remuneration—Rs. 800/- per month.⁷ The management advertised for an editor at a reduced salary of Rs. 500/-⁸ which could be found in the person of Capt. J. A. Currie, who took over charge in March 1839.⁹ But he was in trouble almost from the beginning and his editorials were sup-

2. *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine and Review*, No. III, October 1833, p. 411.

3. *Ibid.*

4. It needs to be mentioned that we can trace out almost completely the line of incumbency for the editorial chair of the *Calcutta Courier*. This is almost an exception in the period of our study when the general policy was to keep the identity of the editor a close guarded secret. The identity of the editor of the *Calcutta Courier* was generally made known to the public possibly because of the fact that the office of the editor of the *Calcutta Courier* under the disposal of the Bengal Military Orphan Asylum was almost in the nature of public appointment.

5. *Bengal Harkaru*, January 25, 1838.

6. *Ibid.*, August 1, 1838.

7. *Friend of India*, January 31, 1839, p. 69; and March 7, 1839, p. 150.

8. *India Review*, January 1839, p. 656.

9. *Ibid.*, March 7, 1839, p. 150.

pressed by his employers.¹⁰ At one stage the management of the Orphan Society determined to farm out the *Courier* to Mr. Huttman, the Superintendent of the Orphan Press, on his paying a sum of two thousand five hundred rupees a year.¹¹ This plan however did not ultimately materialise and Mr. Johnson, formerly of the *Englishman*, became the editor of the *Calcutta Courier* and under him new and improved arrangements were introduced.¹² But unfortunately for the *Calcutta Courier* he was soon appointed Law lecturer in the Hindu College.¹³

Things went from bad to worse for the *Courier* and we get the following notice of it in the *Friend of India* on March 24, 1842 :

"*The Calcutta Courier* is in articulo mortis. The circulation of the paper has been rapidly declining for some time, and the General Management of the Military Orphan Asylum offered it for sale some weeks ago ; but no suitable offer appears to have been made and the paper is to cease....."

Finally, the *Calcutta Courier* went off publication on March 31, 1842.¹⁴

10. *Friend of India*, April 18, 1839, p. 245.

11. *Ibid.*, December 5, 1839, p. 775.

12. *India Review*, January 1840, p. 843.

13. *Ibid.*, February 1841, p. 128.

14. *Bengal Herald*, April 2, 1842, p. 106.

THE CALCUTTA CHRISTIAN OBSERVER (1832)

In June 1832, came out the *Calcutta Christian Observer* as a monthly periodical.

The background history of it is thus given out by Rev. Joseph Mullens : "In 1831, the missionaries of the various societies in the city, few in number, but most friendly to each other, established a monthly meeting for prayer and consultation which by degrees settled down into what was soon known as the Calcutta Missionary Conference"¹ and "one of the earliest results of the Conference was the establishment of a periodical, the *Calcutta Christian Observer*, intended to be the representative of the missionary body, to exhibit their views on missionary and other questions, and to convey correct information respecting the progress of their work."²

George Smith, biographer of Dr. Duff, thus accounts for the appearance of the *Calcutta Christian Observer*³ :

"Duff had not been twelve months in Calcutta before he saw the necessity of establishing a Magazine to represent missionary and philanthropic operations of all kinds, and to bring christian opinion to bear upon Government on the one hand and the educated natives on the other. Hence in June 1832, appeared the first Number of the *Calcutta Christian Observer*".

1. *Brief Memorials of the Rev. Alphonse Francois Lacroix, missionary of the London Missionary Society in Calcutta, with brief memorials of Mrs. Mullens by her sister*, London, 1862, p. 121.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 127.
3. George Smith, *Life of Alexander Duff*, D.D., LL.D., Vol. I. London (MDCCC LXXIX), p. 224.

The prospectus of the *Calcutta Christian Observer* gave out the general guideline on which the periodical would be conducted.⁴

"The *Calcutta Christian Observer* is intended to consist of three parts. In the first will appear Essays on particular branches of Theoretic and Practical Theology—on the principles of Biblical Criticism and Translation—on the origin, progress and future prospects of Missionary operations throughout the world..... A preference will always be given to the discussion of subjects of local importance..... The second part will be devoted chiefly to Reviews and Notices of Works on Religion and General Literature..... The third part will be chiefly confined to...Religious and Missionary Intelligence. In this department nothing that occurs in any part of the world of a truly interesting description will be overlooked..... But it is the East that our attention will, in an especial manner, be directed—and most of all, to the Presidency of Bengal and its dependent provinces..... The work will be...published regularly on the 15th day of every month. Each number will contain at least 40 pages. of letter press...in 8 vo....."

The ownership of the *Calcutta Christian Observer* rested with the Calcutta Missionary Conference and the editorial management was jointly on three editors selected out of the members of the Missionary Conference pertaining to the principal evangelical bodies,⁵ and their labours were rendered gratuitously."⁶ The three editors at the commencement were Rev. Alexander Duff of Scottish Mission,⁷ Rev. W. H. Pearce of the Baptist Missionary Society⁸ and Rev. Thomas Boaz of the London Missionary Society.⁹

The pecuniary arrangement in respect of the *Calcutta Chris-*

4. Prospectus extracted in the *Missionary Herald*, May 1832, pp. 33-34.

5. *Calcutta Christian Advocate*, July 10, 1847, p. 335.

6. *Ibid.*, March 16, 1844, p. 110.

7. George Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 224-25.

8. *Memoir of the Rev. W. H. Pearce, son of Rev. S. Pearce, by his friend and companion*, Calcutta, 1841, p. 179.

9. *India Review*, May 1841, p. 319.

tian Observer was thus given out¹⁰—"the whole pecuniary responsibility of the work rests with the Missionary Proprietors; who, while engaged to sustain all losses, unaided by others, yet desire no pecuniary advantage whatever from its success—the whole amount of profits, be they large or small, being devoted to the Calcutta Christian Tract and Book Society, for furnishing those indispensable aids to the general Missionary work."

In spite of some such unique arrangement for the editorial management charges were occasionally levelled that the publication was being dominated by denominational outlook and thus we get in the *Weekly Examiner*¹¹ :

"..... *The Christian Advocate* as we see represents the Dissenters; the *Oriental Baptist* the Baptists; the *Freechurchman* belongs to the Free Church of Scotland; the *Catholic Herald* to the Catholics; and the *Christian Intelligencer* to the Church of England. *The Christian Observer* is perhaps the only exception, but it even is generally understood,—rightly or wrongly we do not pretend to say,—to be the organ of principally the body of Dissenting Missionaries,—and so it falls short of the success which might have attended, had such impression not existed....."

The general subscription rate for the *Calcutta Christian Observer* was ten rupees per annum, to be paid in advance, but for Ministers & Missionaries it was rupees six only. Subsequently a concessional rate was allowed to "all non-commissioned officers, soldiers and others in the middling classes of life."¹² The benefit for the concessional rate was further extended—"Persons desirous of taking the Magazine, but who may find it inconvenient to pay the higher sum, will be allowed to subscribe at the lower rate, if they pay in advance."¹³

The Calcutta Christian Observer was printed at the Baptist Mission Press, Lower Circular Road, and the original publishers

10. *Calcutta Christian Observer*, "Editors' Preface", Volume for 1838, p. 5.

11. *Weekly Examiner* extracted in the *Calcutta Christian Advocate*, March 15, 1851, p. 125.

12. *Calcutta Christian Advocate*, December 26, 1840, p. 270.

13. *Oriental Baptist*, December, 1851; advertisement.

for it were M/s. Thacker and Co. who were changed in 1833 with the following notice¹⁴ :

"The publishers hitherto, M/s. Thacker and Co., deserve our thanks for the effective manner in which they have attended to the responsibilities of publication and transmission ; and not from the slightest dissatisfaction therewith, but solely from the wish, the necessity indeed to economise, have the Proprietors transferred the charge of publishing and circulating the work, from the 1st day of this year, to Mr. G. C. Hay, the Depository of the Calcutta Christian Tract and Book Society, No. 99, Dhurumtollah."

According to the editor of the *Englishman*, J. H. Stocqueler, who made a survey of the Calcutta Press in 1833, the *Calcutta Christian Observer* was "much in circulation amongst the serious people, and the poorer classes of Europeans and Eurasians"¹⁵ and it had then 380 subscribers.¹⁶ Again, in 1838, the editor of the *Calcutta Courier* calculated the circulation of *Calcutta Christian Observer* which then stood at 350.¹⁷

In the mid-fifties the Missionaries in Bengal, in their evangelical interest, sided with the poor peasants against the Zamindars and the Indigo-planters and the *Calcutta Christian Observer* became vocal in their support.

The *Calcutta Christian Observer* outlived the period of our study.

14. *Calcutta Christian Observer*, "Editors' Preface", Volume for 1838, p. 7.

15. *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine & Review*, No. III, October 1833, p. 420.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 423.

17. *Calcutta Courier*, November 9, 1838, extracted in the *Friend of India*, November 15, 1838, p. 664.

THE PHILANTHROPIST (1832)

In 1832, came out the *Philanthropist*¹—a religious weekly to come out on every Thursday at the monthly subscription of Rs. 2/-.² It was owned by Rev. C. H. Hough³ and also edited by him. According to the *India Review*⁴ it was Rev. Hough's father who established the first religious newspaper in America, the success of which naturally led the son to anticipate a similar success in his laudable effort here. But "notwithstanding the great talent for writing on most subjects and erudition displayed in his articles", the *Philanthropist* could not become a success. According to the editor of the *John Bull* who made a review of the Calcutta Press in 1833 the mechanical arrangements of the *Philanthropist* were perhaps "superior to those of any paper in Calcutta."⁵ But according to the same authority, this "hebdomadal paper can boast of but 92 subscribers." As Rev. Hough failed in obtaining a support commensurate with the expense of his paper he transferred it to John Marshman Esqr. who changed the name to the *Friend of India*⁶ and which appeared first on January 8, 1835, as a weekly.

1. *India Review*, October, 1838, p. 408.

2. *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine and Review*, No. III, October 1833, p. 417.

3. *Calcutta Annual Directory for 1835*: "An Alphabetical list of European Inhabitants residing in Calcutta and Upper Provinces," p. 26. He was a Chaplain in the service of the East India Company.

4. *India Review*, October, 1838, p. 408.

5. *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine and Review*, October 1833, No. III, p. 417.

6. *India Review*, October 1838, p. 408.

THE BENGAL MONTHLY SPORTING MAGAZINE AND BENGAL REGISTER (1833)

In March 1833, came out the *Bengal Monthly Sporting Magazine and Bengal Register* conducted by J. H. Stocqueler, editor of the *Englishman*, and printed by William Ruston, at the Englishman Press.¹

In his autobiographical work J. H. Stocqueler gave out that his earlier success in Bombay with the *Oriental Sporting Magazine* encouraged him to undertake this work.² It was initially a joint venture of Mr. Stocqueler and Mr. Samuel Smith, the then proprietor of the *Bengal Harkaru*, who however made it over altogether to Mr. Stocqueler in October, 1833.³ This was thus notified for public information⁴ :

"Notice is hereby given that from and after the 31st December, 1833, the undersigned (Samuel Smith and Co.) will cease to publish the *Sporting Magazine*, or to have any interest therein. All subscribers to that work from the commencement, who have not already done so, are requested to pay the amount of the first five numbers to the undersigned—also to the end of the present year for all copies which have been supplied through their establishment."

The contents of the first Number for Magazine portion were as follows :-

1. *Bengal Monthly Sporting Magazine and Bengal Register*, 1833, Vol. I, Title page.
2. J. H. Stocqueler, op. cit., p. 95.
3. *India Review*, April 1839, p. 91.
4. *Bengal Monthly Sporting Magazine and Bengal Register*, December, 1833, p. ii.

1. Something prefatory, pp. 1-6.
2. The Calcutta Hounds (a letter to the Editor), pp. 7-10.
3. Calcutta Races (a letter to the Editor), pp. 11-13.
4. Sporting Adventure (a letter to the Editor), pp. 13-15.
5. The Arab to His Horse (poetry), pp. 15-16.
6. Cricketing at Cuttack (from a Correspondent), pp. 16-18.
7. The Chowringhee Theatre (review of a play staged there), pp. 18-19.
8. Music (an appreciation of "Signor Masoni's Concert which took place at the Town Hall on the 8th of February"), pp. 19-20.
9. The Bengal Archers, pp. 20-25.
10. Wolf Hunting (Selection, from the *John Bull*), pp. 25-26.
11. Cricket Match (short account of a match between the Parental and the Verulam Schools' boys in Calcutta on the 2nd February, 1833), p. 26.
12. Warranty of a Horse—Shaik Ibrahim-Vs-J. G. W. Curtis (law report from the Supreme Court), p. 27.
13. The Racing Calendar (for the Calcutta, Cownpore and Alligur Races), pp. 27-30.

Some other interesting pieces in the first volume (containing nine issues from March to December 1833) were :

1. Diseases of the Horse (April and August).
2. Sir Walter Scott, A Sportsman (April).
3. Pedestrianism (May).
4. Breeding and Education of Hounds (August).
5. The Breeding of Hounds in India (July, August).
6. Elephant shooting (August).
7. Feeding of Horses (August).
8. On the Management of Pups (September and November).
9. Hints to Masters of Hounds (October).
10. Lion Shooting (October and November).
11. Canine Pergatives (November).
12. On Breeding & Rearing of Gray Hounds (November).
13. Breeding and Rearing of Puppies (November).
14. Snake Bites (November).

15. Medical Treatment of a Mare (December).

16. Tiger Hunting (December).

The Bengal Monthly Sporting Magazine became instantly popular, this type of magazine yet then being uncommon in this part of India. And we got it from the *Englishman* that so "rapid has been its advance in public esteem that although several early numbers have been reprinted, not a single copy of any number but the present is now to be had on any terms. . . .".⁵

The first Number had only 30 pages for the Magazine and 53 pages for the Register. The size of the Magazine successively increased and the last three issues of Vol. I had more than one hundred pages each. This size was maintained in the subsequent issues.

The Magazine was rich with embellishments and we get from the *Friend of India* on June 14, 1838, that for sometimes Mr. Grant, the well known artist of the period, adorned its pages.

In December 1833, the part sub-titled as the *Bengal Register* was separated from the main work and was made an appendage to it—to be sent to the subscribers "unless specific directions are given to the contrary."

In his autobiographical work J. H. Stocqueler wrote that the *Bengal Sporting Magazine* could attract a large number of subscribers particularly up-country civilians and military men who loved to tell the tale of their own exploits.⁶ In the list of subscribers appended with the December Number of the first volume we get about 286 subscribers. The list swelled up subsequently, at least for some years. According to the calculation of the editor of the *Calcutta Courier* in 1838, the circulation then stood at 375 copies.⁷

As Mr. Stockqueler disposed of the *Englishman* in November 1842, the *Bengal Sporting Magazine* also possibly changed hands.

In January 1845, a new series of the *Bengal Sporting Magazine* commenced. It was still conducted by the editor of the

5. *Englishman*, October 1, 1833.

6. J. H. Stocqueler, op. cit., p. 95.

7. *Bengal Harkaru*, November 10, 1838.

Englishman and printed and published by P. G. Soutter at Nos. 6 and 7 Garstin's Place. It now generally contained about 200 pages and the contents were grouped into sections—Original, Selections, Sporting Intelligence and Racing Calendar. The contents in the Sections of "Original" and "Selections" in one of the Numbers (July 1845) were :

'Original'

1. Home Sporting Intelligence, p. 1.
2. Sporting Diary, p. 25.
3. Pickings from a Portfolio, p. 39.
4. Our Table Talk, p. 45.
5. Sporting Pictures, p. 56.
6. Sea Duck Shooting, p. 64.
7. Summary of British Sport, p. 72.

'Selections'

1. The Chieftain in Danger—with Plates, p. 85.
2. Gentlemen, Gentlemen-Jocks & Gentlemen's Gentlemen, p. 86.
3. Prevention of accident from Fowling Pieces, p. 107.
4. On the Effects of Weight and other Weighty Effects as applied to Horses, p. 110.
5. Deer Stalking in Glenartney, p. 131.
6. An April Fool in the Jungles, p. 140.
7. Boar Hunt at Deesa, p. 151.
8. Miscellaneous, p. 152.
9. Sporting Intelligence, p. 157.

The Bengal Sporting Magazine could not become popular under new management and did not survive for long. We get the following notice of its closure in 1846, in the columns of the *Calcutta Star* on February 17 :

".....the *Bengal Sporting Magazine*...is at an end.....
The Magazine was never projected as a source of pecuniary profit, and it has almost always been published at a loss... it has lingered in the most feeble state for the last three years....."

THE CALCUTTA QUARTERLY MAGAZINE AND REVIEW (1833)

In April 1833, came out the *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine and Review*.¹ This was commenced by the proprietors, Messrs. Samuel Smith and Co., in place of the *Calcutta Magazine*, a monthly periodical by the same concern as it was supposed that a quarterly publication would be better adapted than a monthly for "publication of essays on questions of Indian policy."

Capt. D. L. Richardson was the editor of this quarterly publication and it was priced at Rupees four per Number.² Capt. Richardson was at the same time the editor of the *Calcutta Literary Gazette* also.

In October 1833, came out No. III of the *Magazine and Review*. The most interesting of the compositions in it was a review of the *Calcutta Press* from the pen of J. H. Stocqueler, the editor of the *John Bull* and then of the *Englishman*.

This quarterly publication was given up shortly. In the *Bengal Harkaru* on December, 1833, we get :

"The *Calcutta Literary Gazette* is undergoing change of proprietorship from the 1st of January next year... this will be transferred to its Editor (Capt. D. L. Richardson) who will henceforth concentrate upon it his undivided attention."

Possibly to concentrate upon the *Literary Gazette*, the *Quarterly Magazine and Review* was given up. By the standard of those days it was quite popular, having about 200 copies per Number in circulation.³

1. *India Gazette*, April 16, 1833.

2. *Bengal Harkaru*, July 15, 1833, advertisement for No. II of the *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine and Review*.

3. *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine and Review*, No. III, October 1833, p. 423.

THE EAST INDIA UNITED SERVICE JOURNAL (1833)

In August 1833, came out the *East India United Service Journal* and it was thus advertised¹ :

"The East India United Service Journal : Published in Alternate Months. This Periodical is get up with considerable labour and expense, for the use of the officers of the Indian Army and is conducted by the Editor of the Englishman and Sporting Magazine."

The United Service Journal of London, then conducted by Major Shadwell Clerk, provided the model for it.² We may get an idea of the objectives claimed for this journal from the following notice to the "Readers and Supporters" of the *Journal* in the issue of January 1838 :

"The East India United Service Journal owed its origin to a state of things which no longer exists. In 1833, the army was in a high state of excitement. Lord William Bentinck was continually issuing capricious orders and introducing mischievous innovations against which it was necessary to protest, through a Journal that should find its way into the hands of the home authorities. *The United Service Journal* supplied the medium."

The contents of any of the issues would reveal the character of the publication. These in Issue No. 2, Old Series, October 1833, were as follows :

1. *East India United Service Journal*, No. II, October, 1833 ; advertisement.
2. J. H. Stocqueler, op. cit., p. 95.

Original

1. Remarks on Government Contracts.
2. On the Present State and Prospects of the Bengal Medical Service.
3. Military Forces of the Civilised World (letter to Editor).
4. Present State and Future Prospects of the Bengal Army (letter to Editor).
5. The Knight In The Soldam's Chain (poetry).
6. Lieutenant Colonel Comandants (letter to Editor).
7. Military Retiring Fund.
8. The Death of the Brave.
9. Military Autobiography.
10. Remarks on the Constitution and Efficiency of the Bengal Commissariat.
11. Recollections of a Private Soldier (reprint from the *Literary Gazette*).
12. The Nizam's Army.
13. Scenes in Military Life.
14. The Editor's Tablets :
 - (i) Military Evidence before the House of Commons' Committee.
 - (ii) Command of the Army.
 - (iii) Mackinnon's History of the Goldstream Guards (book review).
 - (iv) General Staff, transfer & posting.
 - (v) Brevet Rank.
15. Chronology of Anglo-Indian Military & Naval Transactions.

[All these covered 97 pages.]

Selections (from other works)

1. Military Libraries (*Delhi Gazette*).
2. Military Positions - Do -
3. Russian Invasion - Do -
4. Duelling (*Mofussil Ukhbar*).
5. Extracts from a Memorial from Officers of the Artillery.
6. Messes in Native Regiments.
7. Indian Army : Short Account of the Rise, Progress and

Character of the Native Army of India, Written by Sir John Malcolm in 1816, at the desire of the late Lord Buckinghamshire (book review).

[All these covered 40 pages.]

The other sections were :

- (a) Military Correspondence.
- (b) Military Intelligence.
- (c) General Orders by Government.
- (d) General Orders by the Commander-in Chief.
- (e) Military Births, Marriages and Deaths.

[All these covered 16 pages.]

During the period of its publication from June 1833 to April 1839, many compositions—letters, memoirs, articles and editorials—concerning mostly the British fighting forces in India including the contingent of the native Sepoys—appeared in the *Journal*. Some of these are as follows :-

1. Bengal Sepoys (December, 1832).
2. On the Pay of Sepoys (February 1834).
3. On the Condition of the Regimental Officers of the Native Army (August 1834).
4. Native Soldiers (September 1835).
5. Abolition of Corporal Punishment in the Native Army (September 1836).
6. On the Pay & Pension of the Native Troops—suggestions for revision (October 1836).
7. A sketch of the Indian Navy (December 1836).
8. *Editorials* :-
 - (a) Soldiers & Newspaper (commenting on the “order interdicting newspapers to private soldiers” ; August 1834).
 - (b) Army and the Press (commenting on the Order of the Commander-in-chief condemning a practice indulged by officers, of addressing anonymous complaints to the public through the newspapers, respecting imagined professional grievances ; August 1835).

Since July 1834, (i.e., with the 7th Number of the issue in Old Series) the *East India United Service Journal* was made a monthly publication in pursuance of the following notice earlier³ :

"If our wishes are met in regard to contributions (for, these as much as subscription are life and soul of a magazine) we shall at the end of one year convert the journal into a monthly publication."

Thus it remained till June 1838, when it underwent another transformation—into a quarterly—with the notice⁴ :

"We beg to announce that from the 1st of July next, this will cease to be a monthly publication. It is quite plain that there is at present neither occasion nor material for its appearance oftener than once in a quarter...the mischief of the Bentinck era have now either disappeared, or been found utterly irremovable...."

Only four Numbers of the quarterly series came out—in July and October of 1838 and January and April of 1839. Then it came to an end with the notice⁵ :

".....we have come to the resolution of discontinuing the publication of this *Journal*. We should very much regret the necessity for the proceeding if there were still any effectual demand for the periodical; but it is quite plain, from the great rarity of contributions, that the Indian Army no longer needs any other channel for its complaints—any other field for professional discussions—than is supplied by the columns of a newspaper. The subscription list of the *Journal*, still furnishes names enough to remunerate our labours (if all the owners of these names, would but remember to remit!) but we are not satisfied to present to our supporters a publication which is not at once useful to them and creditable to ourselves."

The subscription for the *Journal* was rupees seventeen for the whole year and rupees two per Number. Subsequently for

3. "Notice to Correspondent"; Issue No. II, October, 1833.

4. "To the Readers and Supporters of the *United Service Journal*"; Issue No. 48 (New Series), June, 1838.

5. "To our Readers", issue of April 1839, Quarterly Series.

the quarterly publication it was reduced to rupees twelve only. In spite of the strict notice that "every subscriber who is two quarters in arrear, shall receive a formal notice soliciting payment which if not attended to before the expiration of the ensuing quarter will be considered sufficient authority for the discontinuation of subscription"⁶ many an account was in arrear and when in April 1839, the paper was given up the proprietor bewailed that "some three or four thousand rupees are still due to us."⁷

The East India United Service Journal enjoyed the patronage of high officials. In the list appended with the issue of July 1837, we get 274 subscribers including the Governor General, the Commander-in-Chief in India, the Governor of the N. W. Provinces and the Military Secretary to the Supreme Government. In November 1838, its circulation stood at 300 copies per Number.⁸

J.H. Stocqueler was the proprietor of the *East India United Service Journal*. He also exercised the editorial management as well the publisher's responsibility over it for the whole period while G. Woollastan was the printer, at the Commercial Press at No. 49, Cossitollah or at No. 8, Esplanade Row excepting for a short period when William Rushton & Co. acted as the printer.

6. Issue No. 31, New Series, January 1837; advertisement.

7. "To Subscribers", issue of April 1839, Quarterly Series.

8. *Bengal Harkaru*, November 10, 1838.

THE FOUR ANNA MAGAZINE (1833)

This Magazine came out at any time during July to September 1833 and is mentioned in the *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine and Review*, No. III, October 1833. The prospectus thus acquaints the public with the aims and objectives of the *Magazine*¹ :

"The aim of the Conductors is to communicate, chiefly among the Natives of Bengal, such selections from works of European Literature and Science, as may tend to enlarge the sphere of their moral sentiments, and infuse a spirit of activity and enterprise in all those pursuits which conduce to the happiness or the glory of man. Nothing of this kind, we believe, has yet been attempted, for the two newspapers in Bengalee and English, which are now in existence, are exclusively devoted to political articles, or to the discussion of matters which have but a temporary interest ; whereas our intended work will form a Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge, the study and application of which will amply repay the native reader for the time and attention he may bestow upon it. . . . our object is not so much to amuse, as to instruct ; not so much to lull them into self-complacency, as to stimulate them to greater exertions, and to nobler purposes."

In a review of the first Number of this Magazine, the *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine & Review* wrote² : "it seems a highly creditable and useful publication, if we judge of it with reference to its conductors and to the object for which it is estab-

1. Extracted in the *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine and Review*, No. III, October 1833, p. 176.

2. Ibid.

lished. It chiefly consists of the reprint of moral essays from standard English authors, accompanied with Bengalee translations." It was printed at Buddon Chunder Paulit's Calcutta Press.

No further particulars of this Magazine is available and we do not know when its publication ceased. According, however, to Rev. James Long it continued for twelve months.³

3. Rev. James Long, *Descriptive Catalogue of Bengali Works*, Calcutta (1855), p. 63.

THE BEGYANA SAR SUNGRUHU (1833) OR THE HINDOO MANUAL OF LITERATURE & SCIENCE

In the first fortnight of September 1833 came out the *Begyana Sar Sungruhu* or the *Hindoo Manual of Literature & Science*—a bilingual fortnightly periodical.¹ From the *Gyananeshun* we get the following particulars² :

The conductors aimed to communicate “chiefly among the Natives of Bengal such selections from Works of European Literature and Science, as may tend to enlarge the sphere of their knowledge, purify and exalt their moral sentiments, and infuse a spirit of activity and enterprise in all those pursuits which conduce to the happiness or the glory of man.” The selections would primarily consist of “three subjects, 1st, History, including Biography and Geography ; 2nd, Ethics, including Instructive and Amusing Tales, and Didactic pieces ; and 3rd, Science.” It would consist of 16 pages, royal octavo size.

In a review of its first two Numbers in the *Calcutta Courier* we get the following particulars of its contents³ :

“The first number opens with a Sketch of Sir William Jones. Then follows, after a few general remarks under the head of Science, the commencement of a dialouge on Natu-

1. *Gyananneshun* extracted in the *Bengal Harkaru*, September 11, 1833.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Calcutta Courier*, September 27, 1833.

ral Philosophy, which is continued in the second number. Lastly, under the head of History, we have an account of the Religion of the Ancient Britons,—or rather, the mere beginning of it, for this subject is also carried, in the same order, into the second number, where again it breaks off with a notice ‘to be continued’; the only new head in the No. 2 being an ‘account of Sir Isaac Newton’.”

The Begyana Sar Sangruhu was priced at twelve annas per mensem or eight rupees per annum, if paid in advance; it was printed at the Baptist Mission Press and the conductors for it were Mr. M. W. Woollaston, Baboos Gunga Churn Sen and Novo Kumar Chukrurtee.⁴

A new series of the *Begyana Sar Sangruhu* commenced since January 1834 and it was transformed into a monthly paper with 32 pages, at a monthly subscription of rupee one or ten rupees per annum, if paid in advance.⁵ The outer cover of the first Number contained the following notice⁶:

“With a view to render this Series more acceptable to their European Subscribers, the Editors propose to devote a portion of the work to original translations of interesting passage from Sanskrit and Bengalee authors. The main design, however, for which this work was at first undertaken, viz., ‘to communicate to the Natives a knowledge of European Literature and Science’, will continue to be held prominently in view.”

We do not get further reference to this monthly periodical beyond the third Number.

4. Ibid.

5. Brojendra Nath Bandyopadhyaya, *Bangla Samayik Patra*, Vol. I. op. cit., p. 50.

6. Ibid.

THE ENGLISHMAN (1833)

The Englishman came out of the *John Bull* by transformation. In May 1833 J. H. Stocqueler purchased the *John Bull*.¹ He carried it on under the old title till the end of September 1833. Then on October 1, 1833, it appeared under the new title of *the Englishman* with the following notice of this change :

"We have taken leave of our ancient appellation of the *John Bull*, offensive to many from former recollections, and this day offer ourselves to our readers under our new name of the *Englishman*."

At the time of this change-over the *John Bull's* popularity was at a very low ebb. It had then only about 250 names in the subscription list of whom about half was hopelessly in arrear.² Under Stocqueler's management the *Englishman* could earn a respectable popularity (by the standard of those days). In January 1837, according to a calculation by the *Friend of India*, it had a dak circulation of 376 copies.³ We have no definite information as to number of copies distributed through peons. But we may safely presume, that too was quite big.

In an advertisement in 1833 the *Englishman* was thus advertised⁴ :

".....*The Englishman* is conducted on Whig Principles—an attachment of the Union of Church and State and a res-

1. "The Calcutta Press" in the *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine & Review*, No. III, October 1833, p. 414.

2. J. H. Stocqueler, op. cit., p. 92.

3. *Friend of India*, March 1, 1838, p. 69.

4. *East India United Service Journal*, No. II, October 1833, Advertisement Sheet.

pect for the authority of the Sovereign, combined with just regards to the rights and interests of the people. In respect of local matters, the views of *the Englishman* differs in no very essential degree from those of its contemporaries, but in the choice and arrangement of matter it is distinguished by the appropriation of a larger portion of its columns to selections from English Papers and Magazines, by the attention it bestows on the sporting subjects and by the superior accuracy and frequency of its law reports."

Its subscription was fixed at "Rs. 64 per annum if paid in advance or 8 Rupees per mensem if paid in arrear".

In February 1839 Mr. J. W. Johnson arrived from England as the Joint Editor of the *Englishman*.⁵ He was a Barrister and already an author of some reputation. Possibly his association with the *Englishman* did not last long and in January 1840, we get him in charge of the editorial management of the *Calcutta Courier*.

As the preparation for the first Anglo-Afghan War was going on J.H. Stocqueler himself went to the frontiers as the Correspondent for the *Englishman*⁶ and during this period Mr. Blackburn was in the editorial charge for it.⁷

The first Anglo-Afghan War proved disastrous both for Governor General Lord Auckland and Mr. Stocqueler. Mr. Stocqueler acted as an Army Agent and lent a considerable amount to different officers which became irrecoverable.⁸ He also undertook a project to set up a London edition of *the Englishman* for European intelligence direct to his subscribers.⁹ This also turned abortive and ruinous to him. The extent of the financial embarrassment for Stocqueler would be evident from the following two news-items :

- (a) "Mr. J. H. Stocqueler, the Editor of *the Englishman* has applied for the benefit of the Insolvent Act."¹⁰

5. *India Review*, February 1839, p. 719.

6. J.H. Stocqueler, op. cit., pp. 112-14.

7. *Calcutta Star*, March 13, 1850.

8. J.H. Stocqueler, op. cit., p. 124.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 103.

10. *Bengal Catholic Expositor*, October 1840, Summary of Intelligence.

- (b) "*The Englishman*—We are sorry to see that our contemporary of the *Englishman* has failed, and been incarcerated in jail previous to taking the benefit of the Insolvent Act. Alas! that splendid opportunity Mr. Stocqueler has had of making a fortune should have been thrown away in the manner that it has been."¹¹

The "hopelessness of a contest with fate" ultimately led Mr. Stocqueler to dispose of the *Englishman* for £ 13,000 and to quit India.¹² His proprietorship of the *Englishman* ceased on November 1, 1842, and W. C. Hurry became the new proprietor by purchase.¹³ For some years after this the editorial management was first exercised by Macdonald Stephenson¹⁴ and Capt. R. A. Macnaghten¹⁵—the former came to India, on engagement, from London where he was once the editor for the *Monthly Times*¹⁶ and the latter was formerly for years the editor of the *John Bull*.

Commenting on the editorial management of this period the *Bengal Herald* observed¹⁷ : "In former days, our contemporary of the *Englishman* was the most truculent of critics. Now, he roars like a sucking dove. One little year ago... the whole fry of sucking authors, poets, essayists and tale writers—had a most relentless enemy in the broad-sheeted *Englishman*. Now have they most indulgent of friends, the most fostering of patrons."

Soon the editorial charge was undertaken by W. C. Hurry himself, "a great friend of the natives."¹⁸ Hurish Chunder Mookerjee who in later days would become celebrated as the editor of the *Hindoo Patriot* "practised public writings in the columns of the *Englishman*."¹⁹ Gradually however the *English-*

11. *Calcutta Monthly Journal*, November 1840, Misc. p. 581.

12. J. H. Stocqueler, op. cit., p. 124.

13. *Englishman*, Centenary Number, July 2, 1921.

14. *Speeches of Ram Gopal Ghose and His Pamphlet on the Black Acts*, published by Charu Chandra Mitra (year of publication not mentioned), p. XX.

15. *Friend of India*, May 27, 1847, p. 322.

16. *Bengal Herald*, July 29, 1843, p. 223.

17. *Bengal Herald*, August 12, 1843, p. 252.

18. Ram Gopal Sanyal, *Bengal Celebrities*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1889, p. 64.

19. *Ibid.*

man underwent a transformation in character and became upholder of the cause of Indigo planters for which it was denounced as a "planters' paper."²⁰

In 1843 publication of a *Weekly Englishman* was undertaken which would mostly contain selections from English papers.

In 1856 W. C. Hurry had to withdraw from the editorial management of the *Englishman* as we get in the *Morning Chronicle* of January 24, 1856 : "Mr. P. Saunders, Sr. who so ably conducts the *Harkaru* will from the 19th April succeed Mr. W. C. Hurry in the *Englishman*, who has been advised to seek a change, in fact to retire from application to the desk, to a more congenial climate. . . . Mr. Saunders will be assisted in his labours in the *Englishman* by Dr. Ralph Moore, and Messrs. Jerdan and Sullivan."

Like other English papers under European management the *Englishman* was critical of the provisions of Act XV of 1857 imposing restrictions on the freedom of the Press, during the Mutiny, indiscriminately for both the Press under the native and European management. However, it obtained the license for publication under that Act and soon got involved in troubles.

The *Englishman* for October 5, 1857, contained the reprint of an article—"The Government of India"—first published in the *Press* (a paper in England), the content of which was, in the eyes of Government, a violation of the provisions of Act XV of 1857 and the Chief Secretary to the Government of India issued a warning to the proprietor that "if the offence be repeated, the law must be enforced" and license for publication of the paper would be revoked.²¹

There was no repetition of the violation and the *Englishman* was carried on beyond 1857 without any further trouble.

20. *Hindoo Patriot*, May 18, 1854.

21. *Dacca News*, October 24, 1857, p. 448.

THE INDIA JOURNAL OF MEDICAL AND PHYSICAL SCIENCE (1834)

In the *India Gazette* on December 28, 1833, came out the following advertisement :

“Medical Journal : on the first January 1834 will be published No. I of a monthly medical journal, edited by Messrs. J. Grant and J. T. Pearson to be entitled the *India Journal of Medical Science*. (This) will deserve the attention of the Medical and Veterinary Officers, as tending to save the enormous expense of European Medical Periodicals and as a record of Indian Practice and it will be valuable to the Members of the Civil & Military Services and to the INDIGO PLANTERS, by affording them information devoid of technicality, on the causes, symptoms, and treatment of maladies, to which they are but too liable, when exposed at detached stations and factories, remote from immediate medical aid. Price per Number—Sa Rs. 2 . . . Yearly, paid in advance, Sa Rs. 16. Each Number . . . will contain two 8 Vo sheets of Letter Press, very closely printed in double columns.”

Accordingly came out the *Journal*, with the notice¹—“This First Attempt at Establishing a Medical Periodical Work is Dedicated to The Right Honourable Lord William Cavendish Bentinck etc. etc. Governor General of India.”

The first editorial gave out aims and objectives of the *Journal* :

“*The India Journal of Medical Science* will appear on the first day of every month. The nature of its contents may be generally stated under the following heads :

1. *India Journal of Medical Science*, Title page, Vol. I.

"Original Communications and Correspondence on Medical Science.

"Notices of Native remedies and routine of practice in various diseases.

"Medical topography and statistics and Hospital Reports.

"Medical jurisprudence and reports of Coroner's Inquests, with such remarks as they may suggest.

"Zoological and Zootomical and Entomological Observations.

"Medical Botany, more especially that of the East.

"Abstract of European and American Medical Works with Selections.

"Review of Works on Medical Science.

"Popular Essays on Diseases in untechnical language.

Biographical and Obituary Notices of distinguished medical men etc. etc."

The contents of the first Number of the *Journal* were :

1. On the Fever (that prevailed in Calcutta during the months of September, October, November and December, 1833)—by Frederick Corbyn Esqr., Garrison Surgeon, Fort William.
2. Care of Hemiplegia.
3. Native Medical Education (letter to Editor).
4. On Infantile Remittent Fever.
5. Analysis of Books.
6. Selections from various works (on Vaccination, Hydrocephalus, Phrenology, Hare Lip, Poisoning, Rheumatic Gout. etc. etc.).
7. Editorial.

Occasionally pictorial illustrations appeared and in the first year we get the following :

- (a) Mr. Raleigh's case of Tumour (February 1834).
- (b) Tumour of the Eye (August 1834).
- (c) Dr. Finch's case of Renal and Urinary Disorder (-Do-).
- (d) Mr. Raleigh's case of Hare-Lip (December 1834).

The issue of January 1835 contained an article of singular interest—The Cerebral Development of Rajah Rammohun Roy (extracted from the *Phrenological Journal*, London, June 1834).

Doctors Grant and Pearson continued in the editorial management of the *India Journal of Medical Science* till the publication of the issue for June 1835 and then they withdrew with the following notice² :

“..... In reference to the retirement of the original Editors it may be briefly announced, that the state of health of one of them requires some relaxation from mental labour after the paramount claims of official duty are fulfilled, and permits no longer of his continuing his self-imposed task, or that active superintendence which the public has a right to expect, while the calls upon the time of his colleague are such as to prevent his being able to take the whole management upon himself.”

Dr. Frederic Corbyn, Garrison Surgeon, Fort William, became the proprietor and editor of the *India Journal of Medical Science* since July 1835. In January 1836 he renamed it as the *India Journal of Medical and Physical Science*.³ We get the following notice from him⁴ :

“..... Hitherto medical men in India have had no organ especially their own by which they could offer suggestions for improvements in Her Majesty's or the Hon'ble Company's service ; we shall make our journal such an organ, and whilst we shall endeavour to avoid all invidious distinctions or partialities we shall not fail to submit, in respectful terms to the notice of the ruling authorities, suggestions tending to benefit not only individual, but the medical profession at large.”

Under editorial management of Dr. Corbyn the *India Journal of Medical and Physical Science* could attract “increasing

2. Ibid., June 1835, p. 237.

3. *India Journal of Medical & Physical Science*, January 1836, Title page.

4. *Calcutta Courier*, July 2, 1835.

contributions from the medical profession.”⁵ “In 1838 it had a monthly circulation of 400 copies.”⁶

In 1843 circumstances of an official character compelled Dr. Corbyn to relinquish his duties as a journalist⁷ and his *India Journal of Medical and Physical Science* passed under the editorial management of Dr. Eveleigh,⁸ Surgeon Dentist, Occulist etc. at 94, Dhurrumtollah, Calcutta. He issued the following prospectus⁹ :

“This Journal, long Edited by Dr. Corbyn, will in future be conducted by the above (Dr. Eveleigh) and will contain Reports of the Indian Medical Societies & Hospitals etc., Medical Reports concerning different Stations in India and abroad, with accounts as to what diseases are prevalent.... Meteorological Tables etc.—Reports of cases occurring in Private Practice or other Original Communications, with all interesting Medical informations, Editorial remarks, Selections from English, French and American Publications etc. etc. Published monthly, price 16 Rupees per Annum, payable in advance, or 2 Rupees per number.”

In an editorial review of the first two numbers of the *Journal* under Dr. Eveleigh the *Calcutta Christian Advocate* observed¹⁰ : “Two numbers... issued under the direction of the new editor... augur well for the interests of the medical practice..... Dr. Eveleigh appears to have brought considerable spirit to his work.”

Dr. Eveleigh conducted the *Journal* till October 1844 and then we get the following notice in the *Calcutta Christian Advocate*¹¹ :

“From the last issue of the *Medical Journal* we learn that the present Editor is about to leave India..... Impaired health is... the casuse of Dr. Eveleigh’s departure from India.”

5. Ibid., August 4, 1835.

6. *Bengal Harkeru*, November 10, 1838.

7. *India Review*, April 1834, p. 210.

8. *Friend of India*, March 2, 1843, p. 133.

9. *India Review*, March 1843, Advertisement Sheet.

10. *Calcutta Christian Advocate*, March 25, 1834, p. 369.

11. Ibid. October 12, 1844, p. 459.

The Medical Journal now passed under the editorship of Dr. C. Finch, M.D. and the first Number under his management came out in November 1844.¹² But he also could not carry on for long and in December 1845 we get¹³—"Dr. Finch has relinquished the editorship of the *India Journal of Medical and Physical Science*."

We get no further mention of it in the contemporary periodicals. Possibly it went off publication.

12. *Calcutta Star*, November 25, 1844.

13. *Friend of India*, December 11, 1845, p. 790.

THE ORIENTAL SPORTING MAGAZINE (1835)

In July 1835 came out the monthly sporting periodical—the *Oriental Sporting Magazine*, projected by the Messrs. Samuel Smith and Co., proprietors of the Harkaru Press.¹ It was set up to compete with the *Bengal Monthly Sporting Magazine*, then owned and edited by H. J. Stocqueler, the proprietor-editor of the *Englishman* and according to the projectors it was on the model of the *English Sporting Magazine* of London.²

The contents for the *Magazine* in the first Number were :

PART I : Original

- I. Old Miss Mag and Young Miss Mag.
- II. Hunting in Tirhoot, No. 1.
- III. Selections from Uncle Barnaby's big book, "Soumer" Hunting in the Rhotas Hills.
- IV. A Word from Benares.
- V. On mixing Hindoostanee with English in Sporting Descriptions.
- VI. Observations on referred Sporting Descriptions.
- VII. An account of Glancer—a well known Hound.
- VIII. Something from "Merquinon".
- IX. The Benares Race Meeting, 1835.
- X. The death of the grey Arab "Secunder".

1. *Oriental Sporting Magazine*, July 1835.

2. *Calcutta Courier*, July 2, 1835, "Notice to Supporters", by Messrs. Samuel Smith and Co.

- XI. The last Cawnpore Meeting.
- XII. The Turf Club for Western India.
- XIII. Postscript to the two Misses Mag.
- XIV. Races to Come : (a) Hadjipore Races for 1835,
(b) Hansee Races.
- XV. Genealogical Stud Book.
- XVI. Sporting Intelligence.

PART II : Selections

PART III : Racing Calendar

The Oriental Sporting Magazine did not last long. The 5th Number came out in December 1835 and that proved to be the last Number. For, we get in the *Calcutta Courier*³—"We observe a notice... that the *Oriental Sporting Magazine* is to be discontinued."

1. *Calcutta Courier*, December 22, 1835.

THE HINDOO PIONEER (1835)

The Hindoo Pioneer came out in September 1835, as a monthly publication, edited by Baboos Kylas Chunder Dutt and Bhoobun Mohun Mitter with the aid of the students and ex-students of the Hindoo College.¹ Literature was the professed subject to which it was to be devoted. The objective was so limited possibly due to pressure from outside. For, we read in the *Reformer* of September 28, 1835, that the "youths who got up the *Hindoo Pioneer* have made some sort of pledge to the managers (of the Hindoo College) not to make it a vehicle of political or religious controversy or of attacks upon the college".² The contents of the first Number were³ :

- (a) Introduction.
- (b) The Pindari Lovers, by K. C. D.
- (c) On Freedom, by R. K. D.
- (d) Stanzas, by J. C. D.
- (e) On Poetry, by G. N. P.
- (f) An Essay on Women, by Z.
- (g) A Topographical Description of Calcutta, by Z.
- (h) Observations on the Tragedy of Othello, by S. N. P.

It was well received by the English press, possibly as an "adventurous fledgling" of the Young Bengal⁴ and in a review of its first Number the *Calcutta Courier* wrote⁵ :

"All the pieces bear the stamp of juvenile composition,

1. *Calcutta Courier*, September 29, 1835.
2. *Reformer* extracted in the *Calcutta Courier*, October 5, 1835.
3. *Calcutta Courier*, September 29, 1835.
4. Bholanath Chunder, op. cit., p. 41.
5. *Calcutta Courier*, September 29, 1835.

but they are much above the usual character of school essays. We doubt if the topography of Calcutta is anywhere better described than in the little essay above named. The remarks on poetry are somewhat ambitious, but not commonplace . . .”

The Asiatic Journal in March, 1836, copied one of the compositions out of the contents of the first Number, as specimen —“On Women.”⁶

Unfortunately the *Hindoo Pioneer* did not survive long and it went off publication without any formal announcement. We do not know when it ceased to be published. However, an attempt was made in 1840 by the alumni of the Hindoo College to revive it, under the auspices of Capt. Richardson.⁷ But the attempt possibly proved abortive. For, we get no further mention of it in the contemporary periodicals.

6. *Asiatic Journal*, March 1836 ; *Asiatic Intelligencer*, p. 179.

7. *Friend of India*, June 11, 1840, p. 373.

THE INDIA REVIEW AND JOURNAL OF FOREIGN SCIENCE AND THE ARTS (1836)

In April 1836 came out a monthly periodical—the *Journal of Foreign Science and the Arts*—under the editorship of Dr. Frederick Corbyn, printed and published by G. Wollaston.¹

The second and third Number of the work came out with a somewhat altered title—*Review of Works on Science and Journal of Foreign Science and the Arts*. Then the fourth Number came out with the title—*The India Review of Works on Science & Journal of Foreign Science and the Arts*.

Twelve monthly issues from April 1836 to March 1837 made up the first volume of the work and in the preface to that Dr. Corbyn detailed out the aims and objectives of his periodical :

“.....when on the one hand, we took into consideration the vast extent of this empire, and the strides which education was making among all classes of the people, and on the other, that no work, calculated to diffuse the light which discoveries and improvements in Europe were hourly shedding through the medium of science and the arts, had been offered to the public ; we considered ourselves justified in stepping forward, humble as our pretensions were, to prove the utility of a Journal exclusively devoted to the review of works on science, embracing foreign science and the arts ; and, by showing the extensive influence which their dissemination must necessarily have in promoting the welfare of this country, and laying open those resources of knowledge

1. *Journal of the Foreign Science & the Arts*, April 1836, Title page.

which at all times have formed the basis of natural power and prosperity, endeavour to awaken a general spirit of research. . . . we have only to state how far our views have been supported; this may be seen by the size of our publication. . . . It commenced with 32 pages and has progressively increased to 64. . . .”

Finally, in December 1837, it assumed the title—*The India Review and Journal of the Foreign Science and the Arts*.

The subscription for the *India Review* was fixed at rupees sixteen per annum and rupees two per copy.

The India Review became popular immediately on appearance and by August its subscription list had about 200 names.² Number of subscribers further went up and in 1838, 400 copies were subscribed for.³ And according to the *Friend of India* it was “an ornament of our periodical literature, and a successful rival of the far-famed *Lancet*.”⁴

In January 1843, the *India Review* changed hands. It passed from the editorial management and proprietorship of Dr. Corbyn to that of Mr. Grant, the artist, as Dr. Corbyn left India.⁵

Under the management of Mr. Grant, the first Number in the new series of the *India Review* (for January 1843) came out in March 1843.

In an editorial review of this first Number of the new series the *Bengal Herald* observed⁶ :

“ There is certainly, an improvement, in its external appearance, and the matter, though not quite voluminous, appears to be better arranged. There is no jumbling of original and selected articles, but each has its proper place. . . . ”

The India Review under the management of Mr. Grant did not prove a success and in the prefatorial address accompanying the issue for September 1843 (which actually came out in

2. *India Review*, August 1836, p. 177.

3. *Calcutta Courier*, November 9, 1838, extracted in the *Friend of India*, November 15, 1838, p. 664.

4. *Friend of India*, October 31, 1839, p. 691.

5. *Calcutta Christian Advocate*, February 4, 1843, p. 313.

6. *Bengal Herald*, March 25, 1843, p. 22.

October 1844) he expressed his doubt in the expediency in carrying it on and gave out that his estimated financial loss in publishing the periodical exceeded rupees one thousand and six hundred.

Since then the *India Review* was carried on through erratic issues and the last one appeared in July 1847 as we get from the *Calcutta Christian Advocate*⁷ :

"*The India Review* is now among the things that were... such is the purport of the notice to subscribers on the cover of the number which has been kindly placed on our table, and which is dated, not when it made its appearance in the world, but when it ought to have so done....."

7. *Calcutta Christian Advocate*, August 7, 1847, p. 377.

THE DAILY NEWS (1837)

In January 1837 came out the *Daily News*—a diurnal newspaper¹ “conducted by gentleman of first rate talent, an accomplished scholar, and of liberal principle”.² Under his able management the *Daily News* became a popular paper with 600 copies in circulation.³ Shortly after this we get the notice : “The Editor of the *Daily News* in this day gazetted as having jowined the *Englishman*.”⁴ It so appears that with the going away of this editor the *Daily News* lost its popularity and just one year after this it went off publication as we get in the *India Review*⁵ : “The *Daily News*, after having long tottered on the verge of existence, yesterday obtained absorption in the *Commercial Advertiser*.”

1. *Calcutta Courier*, March 14, 1840.

2. *India Review*, June 1838, p. 126.

3. *Friend of India*, March 8, 1838, p. 84.

4. *Ibid.*, March 22, 1838, p. 117.

5. *India Review*, April, 1839, p. 94.

THE RAINBOW (1837)

In the later half of 1837, possibly in September 1837, came out the *Rainbow*.¹ It was a fortnightly paper and mostly contained contributions from the students of the Benevolent Institution at Bowbazar, in Calcutta,² an educational institution under the Baptist Missionary Society. The editorship of the paper rested with one Eurasian gentleman, a teacher in the Benevolent Institution. In a review of this periodical the *Calcutta Christian Observer* in October 1837, wrote of its defect as "affected with and learning." We may suppose the *Rainbow* to be of the nature of juvenile magazines of the present days.

Possibly the *Rainbow* did not last long and went off publication shortly. We get no further mention of it.

1. *Calcutta Christian Observer*, October 1837, p. 558.
2. *Samachar Durpan*, December 9, 1837, quoted in the *Sambad Patre Sekaler Katha*, Vol. II, p. 198.

THE ANNA MAGAZINE I AND II (1837)

We get reference of two magazines with this identical title—the *Anna Magazine*.

The first one came out in November/December 1837, as we get notice of it in the *Purnachandrodaya* (the vernacular newspaper) quoted in the *Samachar Durpan* (the bilingual weekly), December 9, 1837.¹ It gives the following informations :

This *Anna Magazine* was conducted by some Hindu boys (may be of the Hindoo College) and contained Bengali translations from English books. Five hundred copies of the first Number were printed.

According to the *Purnachandrodaya* this was not a product of good standard and was not likely to survive long.

Possibly it was very short-lived and might not have even survived beyond the first Number. At least there is no further mention of it in any contemporary records.

The second *Anna Magazine* came out in June or July 1838, and it was noticed in the bilingual weekly, *Jnananneshun* (quoted in the *Samachar Durpan*, July 7, 1838²). Out of this notice we get the following informations :

It was conducted by a native and was printed in the press of Mr. Wollastan. It contained selections from other works—both for instruction and entertainment.

According to the *Jnananneshun* this was a commendable enterprise.

1. Brojendra Nath Bandyopadhyaya, *Sangbad Patra Sekaler Katha*, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 198.

2. Ibid., p. 201.

This also possibly did not survive long and we have no further mention of it anywhere.

These ventures in the realm of journalism providing cheap fare to readers might have in some measure prepared the background of subsequent effective ventures on the same line in the later half of the nineteenth century. Keshub Chunder Sen, the Brahmo leader, it may be remembered, attained great success with his Bengali Journal "*Sulav Samachar*" originally priced two pice per copy.

THE EAST INDIAN POLITICAL REGISTER (1838)

In the *Bengal Harkaru* on June 6, 1838, came out an advertisement announcing the proposal for publishing a new weekly periodical :

"East Indian Political Register : On the 1st of July will be published and on every succeeding Saturday evening Price 2 Rs. per month in advance...containing 32 closely printed columns, and giving the fullest details of all English, Foreign and Domestic news, debates in ParliamentPrice current of the market, etc. with every important local information and passing event worthy of notice. The journal being established under the patronage of a few patriotic and distinguished individuals, solely for the support and maintenance of the just Right and Interest of the British and Native community in India, will be found at all times the zealous and undeviating advocates of the Judicial and Beneficial reform ; also the real guardian of those suffering under any species of oppression, for whose just grievances and complaints its columns will always be open...the Journal...lasting benefit on the East Indian Community."

In an editorial comment on this advertisement the *Bengal Harkaru* gave out the name of the editor as one Mr. T. B. Gahan, "a member of the new firm of Baring Gahan & Co."

The East Indian Political Register came out on the 30th of June, 1838, a Saturday, and in a review of this work the *Friend of India* (July 5. 1838) wrote : "...sorry are we that we can not welcome the Journal as an accession to our editorial strength. If it be continued in the same violent spirit which characterises the first number it can only be a source of weakness and danger."

The periodical could not become popular and went off publication with the end of January 1839 and we get it in the *Friend of India* on February 7, 1839 : "*The Weekly Political Register* is dead. None of our contemporaries have recorded the fact in their obituaries and the task of communicating it to the public devolves on us. At the beginning of the week we received a letter from Mr. Stanhope to inform us that the Journal had been discontinued."

THE SKETCHES OF ORIENTAL HEADS (1838)

In a news-item dated June 11, in the *Friend of India* on June 14, 1838, we get :

"Mr. Grant, the well known artist, whose pencil has for some months past adorned the pages of the *Sporting Magazine*, the *India Review*, and the *Monthly Journal* has issued a prospectus for publishing a *Series of Miscellaneous Sketches of Oriental Heads*. A number will appear each month with four heads ; the price to subscribers, two Rupees eight annas."

Subsequently Mr. Grant gave out that the "object contemplated.....is a series of sketches, as complete as possible, of the various tribes and classes of men who may be denominated Oriental."¹

The first Number of the *Sketches of Oriental Heads* came out in August, 1838.² As to its contents we get from the *India Review*, September, 1838 :

"The first sketch represents the Revd. Aratoon Avaz, an Armenian priest of Sunkihanah of Persia...we can bear testimony to the excellence of likeness..... The second head is that of Madoo Rao, a Malabari..... The third head represents Essuff Khan...it is highly characteristic of the soldier of northern India. Mr. Grant has thrown into the figure, all the air and grace of one ready for combat..... The fourth head is of Bhagu, an Ooriah bearer boy, native

1. *Bengal Herald*, December 3, 1842, p. 389.

2. *Friend of India*, August 30, 1838, p. 487.

of Cuttack. . . . He appears to be ready for a run or to take a message. . . .”

In a review of this first Number the *Friend of India* wrote on August 30, 1838 that “it will be considered a great acquisition in England” and the *India Review* observed that as “presents to friends in Europe, the Oriental Heads, we have no doubt, e’er long will be in great demand.”

The second Number came out in October 1838, with the Sketches of Hajee Meerza Ispahanee, Baboo Gooropersaud Bose, a native of Calcutta, Jogroop Geer, a Naga and of Mahomed Sale of Bussora.³

Occasionally a biographical note explanatory of the Heads would be appended with the Miscellaneous Sketches as we get that of Dost Mahommed Khan, Ameer of Afghanistan, in the 10th issue (which contained Sketches of the Heads of Dost Mahommod Khan, his sons Gholam Hyder Khan and Mohumud Ukram Khan, and his cousin Ubdoool Ghuznee Khan).⁴ Then, the 14th number which contained the Sketches of Heads of the Ameers of Scinde (brought round from their own country and lodged at Hazareebaugh) had with it two papers drawn up by Meer Nusser Khan, the Chief of the Ameers, the Walee of Scinde, explanatory of their present state.⁵

Miscellaneous Sketches of Oriental Heads continued for long without much regularity in the periodicity of appearance. Thus we get the 10th Number in October 1841,⁶ the 11th in April, 1842,⁷ the 12th in December 1842,⁸ the 14th in October 1844,⁹ and the 15th in October 1845.¹⁰

The 15th Number appears to be the last issue of the periodical. There was an attempt to revive the Sketches after a lapse

3. *India Review*, October, 1838, p. 410.

4. *Ibid.*, October, 1841, p. 674.

5. *Friend of India*, October 17, 1844, p. 662.

6. *India Review*, October 1841, p. 674.

7. *Bengal Herald*, April 30, 1842, p. 140.

8. *Ibid.*, December 3, 1842, p. 389.

9. *Calcutta Christian Advocate*, October 12, 1844, p. 458.

10. *Ibid.*, October 25, 1845, p. 505.

of six years as would appear from the following notice (*Calcutta Christian Advocate*, December 27, 1851) :

“After long hybernation Mr. C. Grant’s *Sketches of Oriental Heads* are going to spring into life again. Mr. Grant is about to publish a number containing sketches of Burmese Physiognomies”

The attempt possibly did not materialise into success and we got no mention of its re-appearance.

THE MURSHEDABAD NEWS (1838)

On September 22, 1838, came out the *Murshedabad News*, published at Murshidabad. We get the following account of it¹ :

The Board of Revenue appointed Mr. William Stephen Lambric as the tutor of Raja Kissen Nath Roy of Kasimbazar during his minority. On attaining his majority Kissen Nath Roy awarded him Rs. 30,000/- for his past services and also retained him to look after a press set up by him and publish a paper in English titled the *Murshedabad News*.

This was the first venture for publication of an English periodical from any mofussil town in Bengal and specially remarkable as the initiative rested with a native gentleman.

Unfortunately it did not last long and we get the following notice in the *India Review*² :

"Wednesday, July 24—A letter published in the *Englishman* this day contains an account of a wanton and to all appearance, an illegal outrage on the Press at Moorshedabad. On Friday last, the Printer was seized in midday and locked up a close prisoner, denied the use of pen, ink, and paper, without his or any one else's knowing the reason. On the 20th, the Printing Office was sealed up and the number about to be issued, retained, with all the property....."

Subsequently we get from the *Friend of India* on August 15, 1839, that "the Printer has been...sentenced to a fine of 500 Rs., and the Press itself confiscated." Further, from the *Friend of India* (August 8, 1839) we get that "the only offence appears

1. Bholanauth Chunder, op. cit., p. 25.

2. *India Review*, August 1839, p. 432.

to have been that of having established a Press without giving a notice."

There was an attempt next year to revive the *Murshedabad News*, as we get from the following notice in the *Friend of India* on October 1, 1840 :

"We learn that the Press, which was seized some months ago at Moorshedabad, is about to be restored ; and that a new paper will be started immediately..."

The attempt, however, ultimately did not materialise and we get no further mention of it.

SUMBAD SOUDAMINEE (1839)

The India Review in January 1839 announced the publication of the *Sumbad Soudaminee*, a bi-lingual (English and Bengalee) Weekly.¹ From the *Friend of India* we come to know that the *Sumbad Soudaminee* actually came out on Friday, December 21, 1838. Subsequently the day of publication changed to Wednesday, according to the *Calcutta Courier*.² In a review of its first Number the *Friend of India* observed on December 27, 1838, that it "is not such as to hold out any expectations of a protracted and useful existence." But in spite of this evil foreboding it lasted for three years.³

From the *Calcutta Christian Observer*, in February 1840, we get the following further particulars about it⁴ :

It was under editorial management of Baboo Kalachand Datta and his friends and was supported by the Hindoo Benevolent Institution (possibly the one "established in the Dum Dum Road, near Saum Bazar thana" and referred to in a letter to the editor in the *Sumachar Durpan*, July 23, 1834). In general character it was "indifferent as to orthodoxy" and in contents was "poor" and used to give "little more than extracts from other native papers." Nonetheless it had a fairly good circulation for those days—78 copies in town (within the city and vicinity served by the hurcurrahs) and 2 copies by dak (by public mail). Its rate of subscription was only eight annas per month.

1. *India Review*, January 1839, p. 653.

2. *Calcutta Courier*, February 7, 1840.

3. *Bangla Samayik Patra*, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 57.

4. *Calcutta Christian Observer*, February, 1840 : *The Calcutta Native Press*, by Chinsuransis.

THE CALCUTTA CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE (1839)

On the first Saturday of May 1839, came out the religious weekly newspaper, the *Calcutta Christian Advocate*.

It was projected, owned and edited by Rev. T. Boaz,¹ a Missionary of the Bengal Auxiliary to the London Missionary Society. The periodical had no association, direct or indirect, with that Missionary body. It owed its origin to the taste for a literary pursuit of the individual concerned who professed he would make his paper "religious but not sectarian, the advocate of every good measure coming from whatever class it may, seeking to make all men good and every measure useful by disseminating the principles of eternal truth."²

The Calcutta Christian Advocate, from the very beginning, directed its shafts against the Roman Catholics.

The reaction of the Roman Catholics in Calcutta was instantaneous. They brought out a journal of their own which came out on the 3rd of July 1839 and the *Friend of India* (July 11, 1839) wrote: "*The Calcutta Christian Advocate* by its open attack upon the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church has called into birth a new paper, styled the *Bengal Catholic Expositor*"

The Calcutta Christian Advocate in its zeal for its own Church (the Dissenting Church) would not spare the Church of England

1. *The Mission Pastor: Memorials of the Rev. Thomas Boaz—by his widow*; London (MDCCC LXII), p. 190.
2. Prospectus of the *Calcutta Christian Advocate* extracted in the *Calcutta Christian Observer*, June 1839, p. 365.

even and hence we get from the editor of the *Christian Intelligencer* in September, 1846 :

"*Calcutta Christian Advocate*. . . . We long since gave up the paper for its inconsistency and uncharitable spirit, and we wonder that any real evangelical Churchman can permit it to be seen on his table. . . it is not only (for) its inconsistency with its avowed principles and its uncharitableness, but its misrepresentation of facts—its blundering error (to put the best construction upon its statements) . . ."

The Calcutta Christian Advocate appropriated to itself the duties of a watchdog and would run amuck to any one who would violate the Christian observance of the Sabbath. Thus when the steamer Bentinck was to leave the town on Monday the Dy. Post Master issued advertisement notifying that "an after-parcel will remain open till the evening of Sunday . . . for the accommodation of parties, who may not find it convenient, or for other reasons, may not deem it desirable to post their letters before that date." Commenting on this the *Calcutta Christian Advocate* wrote on July 13, 1844 :

" we are constrained to say that the advertisement is an invitation to the public, and especially to the Merchants of Calcutta, to violate the Sabbath . . . the public officers of the Government put forth an advertisement involving an open and direct violation of it We would fain hope that there are those at the Council Board who will lift up their voice against it"

This remonstrance bore fruit. The day of next departure of the S.S. Bentinck was still a Monday but the mail for her would be closed on Saturday and not on Sunday, as previously.³

On another occasion, when the proprietor of the *Englishman* brought out a weekly edition of his paper on Sunday (from the first week of January 1843) the *Advocate* took up its cudgles and came out with a strong remonstrance.⁴ This had its influence on the proprietor of the *Englishman* who was obviously more concerned with commercial prospect than religious scruples for

3. *Calcutta Christian Advocate*, November 16, 1844, p. 518.

4. *Ibid.*, February 4, 1843, p. 317.

the observance of the Sabbath and ultimately decided to publish his "Sunday Paper on Saturday evening."⁵

In March 1847, Rev. Boaz went to England to improve his health. During his absence first Rev. M. Hill, took over the editorial management of the *Advocate* but as he himself became sick he relinquished the charge in November 1848.⁶ Possibly Rev. E. Storrow then managed the *Advocate* editorially till Rev. Boaz returned in 1850 and took back his charge.⁷ Finally, Rev. Boaz gave up the periodical in December 1856.⁸ This was due to breakdown of his health which necessitated him to give up some of his engagements.⁹ "His failing health has obliged him to give up the duty of conducting this journal, and as he is now unwilling to commit its conduct to other hands, how able soever they may be, he announces that the *Christian Advocate* has ceased to exist."¹⁰

The *Calcutta Christian Advocate* was thin in size with only eight to twelve pages per Number. These pages were mostly covered by editorial lubrications, Selections from periodicals and various other works, and correspondences. Selections used to cover and the correspondences used to deal with topics having religious or socio-religious background and bearings. Such were also the topics for editorials which would however occasionally cover secular and political questions, viz., the Cooly Trade, Assam Tea, the British-India Society, the Opium War etc.

Commenting on the closure of the *Calcutta Christian Advocate*, on January 3, 1856, the *Friend of India* paid it a tribute thus—"the consistent defender of almost every moral and social improvement in India. Though frequently opposed to its views ... we have always respected the excellence of its motives."

5. Ibid., December 23, 1843, p. 417.

6. Ibid., November 18, 1848, p. 553.

7. Ibid., March 16, 1850, p. 121.

8. *Samachar Sudhabarshan*, January 8, 1856.

9. *The Mission Pastor*, op. cit., 301.

10. *Morning Chronicle*, January 3, 1856.

(1) THE BENGAL CATHOLIC EXPOSITOR
(1839)(2) THE BENGAL CATHOLIC
INTELLIGENCER (1841)(3) THE BENGAL CATHOLIC HERALD
(1841)

In July 1839, came out the *Bengal Catholic Expositor*, the first ever Roman Catholic periodical in Bengal "chiefly devoted to the advocacy of the Catholic Doctrine."¹ With the title was inscribed the motto—"One body and spirit—one Lord, one faith, one baptism." It was printed and published by P.S. D'Rozario and Co. and profit, if any, would be devoted to the Catholic Free Schools. In a letter to the editor of the *Bengal Catholic Expositor* by one Mr. R. J. Carbey in October 1840, we get the following background history of the commencement of this journal² :

"..... In May last year the *Christian Advocate* made its appearance, and not to disguise its intention, its very first number gave a fair specimen of the spirit it has ever since evinced, in a furious attack upon the Catholic religion..... The holy sacrifice of Mass, that solemn and sublime oblation, was characterised as a piece of gross deception practised by the priests; the invocation of Saints, as an insult offered to the deity; the respect paid to the image of our Saviour on the Cross and the images and pictures of our Blessed Lady and the Saints, as rank idolatry..... In this state of affairs Mr. P. S. D'Rozario (the would be printer and publisher for the

1. *Calcutta Courier*, July 3, 1839, advertisement.

2. *Bengal Catholic Expositor*, October 10, 1840, pp. 198-201.

Bengal Catholic Expositor) felt that the dearest interests of our religion were suffering from the want of the means of refuting the slanders uttered against it... Mr. D'Rozario had occasion to call at the Bishop's and while conversing with his Lordship, the idea of the paper was introduced..... His Lordship was pleased to express his satisfaction at the idea of establishing a Catholic paper..... A few days after a meeting took place at his Lordship's residence. A large body of the Laity and almost all the Clergy of Calcutta were present..... The Bishop...was satisfied that there was a sufficient quantum of learning and talent in the community to conduct a journal with credit and utility..... Mr. Ruston, junior, was proposed pro-forma as Editor...of the Journal...to be called the *Bengal Catholic Expositor*.....Mr. Ruston, in deference to the wish of Bishop and others, undertook the duty of Editor gratuitously..... At the solicitation of Mr. Ruston...the Bishop appointed the Rev. Mr. Sumner and the Rev. Dr. Olliffe, as revisors of all dogmetical articles..."

The Expositor underwent a change with the commencement of Volume III, at the close of its first year and it became considerably enlarged in size, with the rate of subscription fixed at rupee one per month or rupees ten per annum, if paid in advance.

Trouble for the *Bengal Catholic Expositor* grew up on the death of Bishop, Rt. Rev. Dr. Tabard, which took place in July 1840.³ The Senior Missionary on the Mission and the Vicar of the Principal Catholic Church, the Very Rev. Fra Antonio de Santa Maria, took over charge of the Bengal Vicariate until further direction from the Holy See.⁴ It so appears that Rev. Dr. Tabard could keep the spirit of dissension amongst the different groups of the Roman Catholics in Calcutta in check which raised its ugly head on his death.

The Jesuits connected with the St. Xavier's College, with a select number of the Catholics in the city, in a meeting at the College established the Calcutta Auxiliary Catholic Institute (as a branch of the Catholic Institute of Great Britain), on August 28, 1840, and both Mr. Ruston, junior, the editor, and

3. Ibid., August 1, 1840 ; Obituary Notice, p. 57.

4. Ibid., September 12, 1840, p. 144.

Mr. P. S. D'Rozario, the printer and publisher of the *Bengal Catholic Expositor*, got into the Committee of the Institute and the periodical itself was made the organ of the Institute.⁵

The oppositionists rallied round the Vicar General. The Calcutta Auxiliary Catholic Institute was not recognised by the Vicar General who also demanded right of censorship over the *Bengal Catholic Expositor*.⁶ But Mr. Ruston, junior, declined to concede to the demand of the Vicar General even at the face of threatened excommunication.

The Vicar General convened a meeting of the Catholics in the city at the Parochial House to resolve the differences which however proved abortive.⁷

Thereupon through a notice in the *Englishman* Rev. Dr. Olliffe, Secretary to the Vicar General, communicated to the Catholic community that the *Bengal Catholic Expositor* was no longer worthy of their support.⁸

A few months after this came out the prospectus of a new Catholic paper⁹ :

"Free discussion, which is the touchstone of truth, can not be had through the medium of only a single periodical especially when that periodical is avowedly subservient to the views of a particular party. Such is at present the case in respect of all questions agitated by the *Bengal Catholic Expositor* in connection with the interests of the Bengal Vicariate. Another periodical is therefore a desideratum ; to supply which it is intended to establish one under the title of the *Catholic Intelligencer*, for the two-fold objects of explaining the Doctrines of the Catholic Church in general, and of advocating the cause of the Bengal Mission in particular. . . . The *intelligencer* will be devoted to original and selected articles on Moral, Theological, Literary and Scientific subjects. It will consist of eight royal octavo pages, and will be published every Friday morning. The charge to Subscribers will be One Rupee per

5. Ibid., September 5, 1840, pp. 127-30.

6. Ibid., September 26, 1840, p. 178.

7. Ibid., September 26, 1840, pp. 170-176.

8. Ibid., October 3, 1840, p. 186.

9. Prospectus extracted in the *Friend of India*, February 4, 1841, p. 70.

month, or Ten Rupees per annum, if paid in advance.
The first number will appear on the 5th February, 1841."

The Calcutta Courier on February 4, 1841, further gave out :
"It is, we understand, to be under the special management of Dr. Olliffe—who is to be assisted by Mr. Masters of the Martiniere, the Rev. Mr. Mascarenhas and Messrs. John Lackersteen and Crow."

Accordingly on February 5, 1841, the *Catholic Intelligencer* came out—as "organ of the party opposed to the Jesuits in Calcutta."¹⁰

Fortunately, the *Catholic Intelligencer* which arose out of the spirit of factionalism in the Roman Catholic community in Calcutta did not last long and we get in the *Bengal Harkaru* on March 6, 1841, that the two hostile papers (the *Bengal Catholic Expositor* and the *Catholic Intelligencer*) had been simultaneously dropped, and one paper to be styled the *Bengal Catholic Herald* would be published in their stead.

This was the outcome of the peace efforts by Dr. Patrick Joseph Carew who took over the charge of the Bengal Vicariate on the demise of the Very Rev. Fra Antonio de Santa Maria and "under divine Providence has succeeded by his zeal, energy and acknowledged talents, in reconciling parties who had been so long at variance."¹¹ In a valedictory address the *Catholic Intelligencer* called upon its subscribers to transfer their patronage and support to the *Bengal Catholic Herald*.¹²

This new periodical was so much in likeness with the defunct *Expositor* in typography, paper, size and shape that the *Calcutta Christian Advocate* thought of it as the *Expositor* in "a new birth but with a new name."¹³ Besides these the *Herald* had the printer & publisher, the rate of subscription and the day of publication—all in common with the *Expositor*. Its fourteen pages, like those of its predecessor, generally contained three Sections—(a) Original Communications, (b) Selections from other

10. *India Review*, February 1841, p. 127.

11. *Catholic Intelligencer* extracted in the *Friend of India*, March 11, 1841, p. 150.

12. *Catholic Intelligencer* extracted in the *Calcutta Monthly Journal*, April 1841; Misc., p. 193.

13. *Calcutta Christian Advocate*, March 20, 1841.

periodicals and newspapers, of both India and abroad, and from books, (c) Summary of Intelligence (news).

On the establishment of the Catholic Orphanage Press at 5, Moorghyutta, in connection with the Catholic Male Orphanage, the *Herald* since January 1846 was published there, first under the Superintendence of J. F. Bellamy and then of C. A. Serrao.

The first Roman Catholic periodical in Bengal, the *Catholic Expositor*, was very popular. Within a month of its appearance it got a circulation of 200 copies which by the end of first year rose to 300 copies.¹⁴ Definitely this went on increasing with the passage of time. Moreover this was not confined within the boundaries of India and the editor, on termination of his first year of labour wrote—"numbers of our journal find their way not only to the remote parts of India, but to the shores of Siam and China."¹⁵ Also, the Vicar Apostolic of Siam wrote to the editor that "the *Expositor* has my most sincere approbation" because it was "a periodical the compilation of which has been hitherto so wise, so comfortable to the Catholic doctrine, and so enlightened to dispel the darkness of the prejudices which heretical sects, because it is their interest, have never ceased to foment, and rekindle against the true Church of Jesus Christ, namely the Catholic Church."¹⁶ Unfortunately we have no definite information as to the subscription list of the *Bengal Catholic Herald*. But we may presume that it enjoyed the same popularity as its predecessor. From the acknowledgements on its pages we get that in the years 1846 and 1852, 62 and 56 copies respectively were subscribed from abroad.

In 1856 an attempt was made to set up another Roman Catholic weekly paper under the title the "*Bengal Catholic Times*." This was advertised for long in the columns of the *Bengal Harkaru*.¹⁷ But finally the project had to be dropped for want of sufficient response from the Roman Catholic public.

The *Bengal Catholic Herald* outlived the period of our study, beyond 1857.¹⁸

14. *Bengal Catholic Expositor*, October 10, 1840, p. 200.

15. *Ibid.*, July 4, 1840; Prefatorial Address for Vol. III, pp. 1-4.

16. *Ibid.*, December 26, 1840, p. 374.

17. *Bengal Harkaru*, July 26, 1856 and subsequent issues for a fortnight.

18. *Hindoo Patriot*, September 23, 1858, p. 297.

THE LEGAL OBSERVER (1839)

On November 4, 1839, came out the *Legal Observer*,¹ a weekly periodical. The *Friend of India* on November 7, gave out the following particulars of this :

"The chief object of the paper will be to record the decisions of the Supreme Court ; but it is not intended to exclude whatever may be drawn from other legal sources, for instruction of practitioners. The price is fixed at a Rupee a number, or four Rupees a month. The conductor is said to be Mr. Johnstone, who was recently connected with the Editorial department of the *Englishman*."

The Legal Observer does not appear to have lasted long. We get no further mention of it. Might be, as Mr. Johnstone shortly joined the *Calcutta Courier*,² in charge of its editorial management, the *Legal Observer* had to be given up.

1. (a) *India Review*, November 1839, p. 689 ;
 (b) *Calcutta Monthly Journal*, February 1840 ; Chronological Table
 for 1839, p. VIII.
2. *India Review*, January 1840, p. 843.

THE EASTERN STAR (1840)

In the *Friend of India* on December 5, 1839, we get the following notice :

"Mr. James Hume, a Barrister of the Supreme Court, has determined to establish a weekly journal to be called the *Eastern Star*. The first number will be published at the *Englishman* office, on Sunday, the 5th of January."

Accordingly the *Eastern Star* came into publication. Since the setting up of the *Calcutta Star* by Mr. Hume in July 1841, the *Eastern Star* became closely associated with that.

In 1846 Mr. Hume was elevated to the Magisterial Bench in Calcutta and on that he relinquished the editorship of the *Eastern Star* along with the *Calcutta Star*.³ Possibly Mr. Heatley who in 1851 would join the *Citizen* as its joint-editor now took over the editorial charge of the *Eastern Star*.⁴

In March 1850, Mr. J.H. Love purchased the *Calcutta Star* and converted it into the *Morning Chronicle* and since May 1850, the *Indian Times* became incorporated with it.⁵ The *Eastern Star* also changed hand and in the issue of May 4, 1850, came out the following notice⁶ :

"The amalgamation of the *Indian Times* with the Star Press having thrown the Editorship of this paper into new hands, it is proper we should intimate to the Subscribers of the *Eastern Star* that we propose to follow, as closely as we

3. *Calcutta Star*, April 29, 1846.

4. *Friend of India*, February 13, 1851, p. 102.

5. *Morning Chronicle*, April 30, March 25, 1850.

6. Extracted in the *Morning Chronicle*, May 6, 1850.

can, in the track of our predecessor with regard to its general tone and conduct. . . .”

Possibly this new editor was Mr. Henry Torense⁷ and the *Eastern Star* was now a “weekly newspaper of 32 columns, with a literary sheet of 16 columns”, containing “a copious summary of intelligence and appointments and a reprint of the principal articles in the Indian journals which bear upon the United Services.” Terms of subscription were—in advance, for a year Rs. 20, for six months Rs. 12, for a quarter Rs. 7 and for a month Rs. 3 and in arrear Rs. 4 per month.⁸

Not long after this the *Eastern Star* underwent a transformation in get-up and the literary part of it covering four pages was then printed separately titled as the *Literary Star* which was to be distributed gratis to the subscribers of the *Morning Chronicle*.⁹

In the *Bengal Catholic Herald* and the *Citizen* in November 1853, we get a notice from Rev. Dr. Marriot, the dismissed Chaplain in the Bengal Establishment, that he would publish a new weekly, the *Ecclesiastical Intelligencer* suppressing the *Eastern Star*.¹⁰ Accordingly the *Ecclesiastical Intelligencer* came out in January 1854¹¹ and also possibly went off shortly. *The Eastern Star*, however, went on in its course and in the *Morning Chronicle* on January 2, 1855, we get the advertisement for it :

“*The Eastern Star* : A newspaper published each Saturday Evening . . . conducted on the most liberal principles and is entirely independent of any other publication issuing from the Star press . . . rates of subscription . . . one year . . . Rs. 20, six months Rs. 11, one month Rs. 2.”

Shortly after this the *Eastern Star* again changed hands as we get from the following notice :¹²

7. Manmatha Nath Ghosh, *Raja Dakshina Ranjan Mukhopadhyay*, Calcutta, 1324 B.S., p. 114.
8. *Morning Chronicle*, May 6, 1850, advertisement.
9. *Literary Star*, July 9, 1851.
10. (a) *Bengal Catholic Herald*, November 26, 1853 ; “Summary of Intelligence.”
(b) *Citizen*, November 14, 1853.
11. *Friend of India*, January 5, 1854, p. 7.
12. *Morning Chronicle*, June 11, 1855.

“.....the *Eastern Star*...the 2nd Number under the new management for Saturday evening last is now before us In the present hands the *Eastern Star* will become an amusing and instructing weekly, and as it will advocate the claims of all classes without distinction we conscientiously think it deserves success.....”

Thus the *Eastern Star* went on, surviving the period of our study.¹³

13. *Hindoo Patriot*, May 6, 1858, p. 137.

THE CALCUTTA JOURNAL OF NATURAL HISTORY (1840)

In February 1840, came out the prospectus of a new quarterly periodical—the *Calcutta Journal of Natural History*—and it ran thus¹ :

“The first Number of a Journal, entitled the *Calcutta Journal of Natural History*, will appear in April and be continued Quarterly, with the view of affording facilities to those who are engaged in scientific pursuits in India, both in the publication of their own labours and in referring to those of others. The work will be conducted by Mr. John M'Clelland, and each number will contain at least 40 pages of Original Matters, or Reviews of important works connected with Geology, Zoology and Botany, and from 80 to 100 pages of Selections, including the proceedings of learned Societies, and other matters of interest connected with the progress of Natural History and the physical sciences generally. Price 16 Rupees per annum, or 4 rupees for each number.”

Accordingly in April 1840, came out the first Number, printed at the Bishop's College Press. The Introductory Address in it elaborated in details the aims and objectives of the *Journal* :

“..... The great object of the publication will be less to afford amusement than instruction ; and above all, it will be our ambition to make known the Researches Naturalists in subjects connected with Indian productions. With this view we shall bring together such facts as may be collected from time to time. . . . There are however some subjects, such as

1. Prospectus extracted in the *Friend of India*, March 12, 1840, p. 167.

Topography, Geography, Meteorology, Statistics etc., which though not strictly within the province of Natural History, are yet so intimately connected with it as to render it impossible to exclude them.... Geology is so connected with Natural History as to be almost identified with it.... Geological descriptions of districts will therefore form a much desired object of our Journal.... We have no desire to profit by the work.... On the whole, we consider that a subscription of sixteen rupees per annum will not only cover the expenses of the *Journal* but allow a certain sum to stand over for the publication of Transactions of an 'Academy of Natural Science', as proposed in our first article...."

The contents of the first Number were :

1. Introductory Address. pp. 1-7.
2. Prospectus of an Indian Association for the Advancement of Natural Science. pp. 8-14.
3. The Silurian System—R.L. Murchison, F.R.S. & F.L.S., Vice President of the Geological Society of London. pp. 15-50.
4. Dr. Wight's Illustrations of Indian Botany. pp. 50-52.
5. Meteorological Observations by Mr. J. McClelland. pp. 52-56.
6. Remarks on an undescribed species of Civet by Mr. J. McClelland. pp. 56-59.
7. On two undescribed species of Skate or Raia by J. McClelland (with 2 plates). pp. 59-60.
8. Desiderata in the Entomology in India—Rev. F. W. Hope, F.R.S. etc. pp. 61-64.
9. Proceedings of the Zoological Society. pp. 65-86.
10. Ninth Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. pp. 86-132.
11. Nouveaux Memoires de la Societe Imperiale des Naturalistes de Moscow (with 13 plates, for forming the 10th Volume of the collection), Moscow, 1835, pp. 132-133.
12. Bulletin de la Societe des Imperial Naturalistes de Moscow, Moscow, 1836, pp. 134-135.

13. Muller's Archiv fur Anatomie, Physiologie etc., Parts III & IV, 1836. p. 135.
14. On Collection & Museums by Mr. J. McClelland, pp. 137-141.
15. Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, pp. 141-154.
16. Two plates.

In an editorial review of this first Number of the *Journal*, the *Friend of India* on May 7, 1840, observed :

"It is with much satisfaction we welcome this accession to our Periodical literature ; and we trust its success will be such as will . . . obviate the reproach against our Indian Community of indifference to the interests of Natural Science"

Since the commencement of the second volume the periodical underwent an alteration in the title. It now became *Calcutta Journal of Natural History and Miscellany of the Arts and Sciences in India*.

In 1843, we get the *Journal* under the joint editorship of Messrs. J. McClelland and W. Griffith²—Sections on Geology and Zoology conducted by Mr. McClelland and that of Botany by Mr. Griffith, F.L.S.³ In the midst of the 5th Volume of the work Mr. Griffith had to quit India on his official duties as the Officiating Superintendent of the Hon'ble Company's Botanic Garden, to Malacca⁴ and the work would then be conducted by a Board of Editors with John McClelland, R. Wight, M.D., F.L.S., Surgeon, Madras Medical Service, George Gardner, F.L.S., Superintendent, Royal Botanic Garden, Ceylon, John Macpherson, M.D., Bengal Medical Service, General Hospital, Calcutta.⁵

The scope of the *Calcutta Journal of Natural History* became expanded as would be evident from the following notice in the Preface to Volume VI :

"The discontinuance of the *Indian Journal of Medical Science* may be expected in some degree to direct towards our

2. *Calcutta Journal of Natural History and Miscellany of the Arts and Sciences in India*, Preface to Vol. III. Title page.
3. *Ibid.*, Title Page, Volume IV.
4. *Ibid.*, Preface to Volume V.
5. *Ibid.*, Title page, Volume VI.

pages, communications of a professional character connected with Medicine. To these they have always been open, particularly such as relate to improvements in anatomy, physiology, chemistry, and materia medica. The only difference now contemplated is, that such subjects will be conducted by a distinct Editor, as far as possible, without interfering with the original character and objects of the work, except in the shape of a very marked improvement to its general interest and utility."

The *Calcutta Journal of Natural History* enjoyed a popularity quite respectable by the standard of the time. The subscription list with the second Volume of the work had in it 157 names which got further additions as notified in the 1st and 4th Numbers of Volume III. The list of subscribers with the second Volume had the name of two native gentlemen of Calcutta—Dwarkanath Tagore and Baboo Ramkumul Sain. Subsequently the Hon'ble the Court of Directors became subscribers for fifty copies.⁶

Some of the interesting contents of the *Calcutta Journal of Natural History* (out of so many) from the pen of the British Officers in India are as follows :-

1. On the Creation, Diffusion and Extinction of Organic Beings, by Capt. Thos. Hutton, Bengal Army (January, 1841).
2. On Solar Radiation, by Capt. J. Campbell, Asst. Surveyor General, (July, 1841).
3. The Assam Tea Plants, (October, 1841).
4. Experiments on the Magnetic Influence of Solar Light, by Lt. R. Baire Smith, Bengal Engineers, (October 1842)
5. Geology and Magnetism (connection of Geology with terrestrial magnetism, January. 1845).
6. A Note on Boodhism and the Cave Temples of India, by Thomas Latter, Lieutenant, Bengal Army, (April, 1845).
7. Removal of a portion of the Liver from the living human subject, by John Macpherson, M.D. (notes on a surgical

6. Ibid., preface to Volume V.

operation on a Hindoo aged between 60 and 70 years, in June, 1845; October, 1845).

8. A Treatise on the Diseases of the Eye as they appear in Hindoostan, by Thomas A. Wise, M.D., Surgeon on the Bengal Establishment (July 1847).

In the midst of popularity the publication of the *Calcutta Journal of Natural History* was terminated with the following notice⁷ :

"..... Some uncertainty having existed during the past few months as to how far the present managing Editor might be enabled to continue the personal superintendence of the work, it has consequently been allowed to fall slightly into arrears. Under these circumstances it is thought necessary to bring the series to a close with the present number....."

7. Ibid., July 1847; "Post Script"; p. 278.

THE WEEKLY EXAMINER AND LITERARY REGISTER (1840)

On March 14, 1840, came out the *Weekly Examiner and Literary Register*,¹ owned and edited by Mr. Drumond, who was for eighteen years the proprietor of the celebrated Durumtollah Academy.² It was to come out on Saturdays, printed by Mr. Mendes, at the monthly subscription of rupee one.³ The subscription list was reported to contain more than five hundred names. We may presume that this was on account of the regard shown to the old teacher (Mr. Drumond) by his students who or at least many of whom must have been well placed in life by this time. On its first appearance the *India Review* observed⁴ of it as "conducted on liberal principles...displays taste and judgement...the style...perspicuous."

In a review of the contents of the *Weekly Examiner*, the *Calcutta Christian Advocate* wrote on June 6, 1840 :

"We...are happy to find in the *Weekly Examiner*, a temperate and judicious advocate of those measures which can alone conduce to the best interests of India...(it) is a real acquisition to the weekly periodicals of Calcutta."

The *Weekly Examiner* did not last long and Mr. Drumond discontinued it, in consequence of increasing infirmities, in the month of July 1841. Commenting on the closure of the *Weekly Examiner*, the *Calcutta Christian Advocate* (August 7, 1841) wrote :

1. *Friend of India*, March 19, 1840, p. 181.

2. *Oriental Magazine*, June 1843, *A Brief Memoir of late Mr. David Drumond*, pp. 214-16.

3. *Friend of India*, March 19, 1840, p. 184.

4. *India Review*, March 1840, p. 1018.

"The *Weekly Examiner* ceases..... We regret this, for although differing in toto with him on many points...we yet looked upon the matter of his editorials as...sensible,..... His selections were not always the choicest nor his original verses always poetry, but save in the matter of typography, and paper, the *Examiner* was no discredit to the Indian Press."

THE INDIAN MIRROR (1840)

In September 1840, a group of East Indian youngmen circulated the prospectus for a new fortnightly periodical—the *Indian Mirror*.¹ Finally it came out on October 1, 1840,² to look after the “special advantage” of that community.³

The Indian Mirror could not become popular with the English editors. According to the *Friend of India* many of its compositions were but “nonsense in the form of gallantry about the fair sex”. And according to the editor of the *Calcutta Christian Advocate* the conductors of this new periodical were wrong in their preference for the “sentimental and imaginative—the poetical and metaphysical, to the entire exclusion of the useful and imaginative.”

The Indian Mirror could not survive for long. The second Number came out on October 14 or 15, 1840⁴ and then possibly it went off publication silently. We do not get any further mention of it.

1. *Calcutta Christian Advocate*, September 5, 1840, p. 141.
2. *Ibid.*, October 3, 1840, p. 173.
3. *Friend of India*, October 8, 1840, p. 647.
4. *Calcutta Christian Advocate*, October 17, 1840, p. 189.

THE INDIAN YOUTH'S MAGAZINE (1840)

In November 1840, came out the *Indian Youth's Magazine* conducted by some native young men.¹ It was especially designed for "the studious youth." The contents for the first Number were² : the author's preface, an article on Thermometer, one on Knowledge and an essay on History and Geometry.

In the review of its first Number the *Calcutta Christian Advocate* observed this to be "altogether a very creditable production of its kind."

Unfortunately this *Magazine* did not last long—may be not even beyond this first Number. For, we do not get any further mention of it in the columns of the contemporary papers.

1. *Calcutta Christian Advocate*, November 7, 1840, p. 214.

2. *Ibid.*

THE WEEKLY INTELLIGENCER (1841)

The *Bengal Catholic Expositor* announced in September 1840 that "some educated natives are about to establish a paper to be entitled the *Weekly Intelligencer*".¹ Further we learn from the *Bengal Harkaru* (September 14,) that this would be conducted by a gentleman of the Calcutta Bar. The price was fixed at eight annas per mensem.²

It finally came out in January 1841, edited by a native gentleman and we get this notice in the *India Review*³ : "A new Journal from the Native Press has issued since our last ; it is called the *Weekly Intelligencer, a Record of Passing Events*. It promises to be useful inasmuch as it will give translation into English from the whole of the native papers." The editor of this new periodical in addressing his native contemporaries thus observed⁴ :

"However wide the circle of your subscribers may be, however high their rank, as from the nature of the language and dialects in which your thoughts are clothed, your periodicals are taken and read by a very few Europeans and these we apprehend not the superior officers of Government ; the wrongs that you complain, the glaring instances of misrule and tyranny, injustice and abuse of authority, exaction, in short corruption and vice in every form that you so boldly expose, are not frequently, in fact very darely brought to the notice of the proper authorities. . . . Every valuable article which now

1. *Bengal Catholic Expositor*, September 19, 1840, Summary of Intelligence.
2. *Calcutta Monthly Journal*, November 1840, Miscellaneous, p. 540.
3. *India Review*, January 1841, p. 61.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.

appears in the native press will therefore be translated into the English language and published throughout."

But it ceased publication very soon. The last notice we get of it is in the *Calcutta Christian Advocate* on March 6, 1841. The *Advocate* contained a selection which deserves to be quoted here as giving an insight into the native editor's view of the religious ceremonies of the unreformed Hindoos :

".....the abominable Hindoo festival of Hooley is also begun...the Hooley festival is a season of delight, merriment and rejoicing to the Hindoos, who during this period gives an unbridled vent to his licentiousness and sensuality..... The Saturnalia of the Romans, and the barbarous ceremonies that disgraced the Popish Religion during the middle ages compared to these abominable rites were but innocent pastimes..."

THE CALCUTTA STAR (1841)

In June 1841, the *Daily Calcutta Intelligencer and Commercial Advertiser* passed from the proprietorship of Mr. Mendes into the hands of Mr. James Hume, a Barrister in the Calcutta Supreme Court who was by then the proprietor-editor of the *Eastern Star*.¹ Mr. Hume renamed it as the *Calcutta Star* which would come out as a daily newspaper on July 1, 1841.² It was priced at Rs. 4/- per month, half the price of the two other popular dailies of the time, the *Bengal Harkaru* and the *Englishman*, as the proprietor-editor of this new paper believed that "their expense is a great bar to their circulation among a large portion of the community, who ought not to be denied the luxury of a daily newspaper."

In April 1845, the *Calcutta Star* underwent a change which made it at par with the *Bengal Harkaru* and the *Englishman*—in size³ and in the rate of subscription, "8 Rs. per month ; or if paid in Advance, Twenty Rupees per quarter or Sixtyfour Rupees per year."⁴

In April 1846, Mr. James Hume was elevated to the Magisterial Bench in Calcutta and he retired from the editorial chair of the *Calcutta Star*.⁵ As was the practice in those days the name of his successor to the editorship was not mentioned anywhere in the *Calcutta Star*. However, in March 1848, there was

1. *Friend of India*, June 17, 1841, p. 370.

2. *Ibid.*, June 17, 1841, p. 375, extract from the *Commercial Advertiser*.

3. *Ibid.*, April 3, 1845, p. 213.

4. *Calcutta Star*, April 24, 1845.

5. *Ibid.*, April 29, 1846.

another change when Mr. Charles Butcher took over the editorial charge of the *Calcutta Star*.⁶ Possibly he acquired the proprietorship of the paper also.

The Calcutta Star continued in existence till the 23rd of March 1850. Then it underwent a transformation into the *Morning Chronicle* since March 25, 1850, under its new proprietor, J.H. Love, who had acquired the proprietorship shortly before this.

6. *Friend of India*, March 30, 1848, p. 198.

THE EASTERN BELLES AND CALCUTTA CHIMES (1842)

We get on January 8, 1842, in the *Bengal Herald* :

"A new weekly publication called the *Eastern Belles and Calcutta Chimes* has just made its appearance. It is harmless and well intended publication, and contains some amusing matter."

No other particulars of this periodical is available nor do we get any other reference to it. Possibly it went off publication shortly after appearance.

- (1) THE CHRISTIAN HERALD (1842)
- (2) THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND
MAGAZINE (1842)
- (3) THE CHURCH MAGAZINE (1843)

On January 1, 1842, came out the *Christian Herald* under the editorial management of a layman who avowed his intention "boldly to uphold the Episcopalian platforms as that most consonant with the oracles of God".¹ The background of its publication, its aims and objectives were given out in the prospectus as follows² :

"While Commerce, Trade, Manufactures, the Civil and Military Services, have each and all their organs in the papers which issue from the Calcutta Press, the Church of England is left without any other advocate than the *Christian Intelligencer* . . . which is titally inadequate to the requirements of the increasing population of this city. . . . (And so) it is now proposed to supply the desideratum by establishing a weekly paper. . . . The paper will be exclusively religious and conducted entirely on Church of England principles. Its object will be merely to advocate the cause of The Church. . . . it is not of course intended to exclude any thing that concerns the moral welfare of man. Its columns will be open to reports from all Bible, Charitable, Temperance and other Societies of a moral tendency. . . . Profit. . . if there be any. . . will be scrupulously devoted to charitable purposes. . . ."

The rate of subscription was fixed at fifteen rupees per annum, if paid in advance, or one rupee and eight annas, if paid monthly.

1. *Calcutta Christian Advocate*, 8th January 1842, p. 290.

2. *Ibid.*, 18th December 1841, p. 266.

Immediately on its appearance the new periodical underwent a change of title—thenceforth it would be the *Church of England Magazine*—with the following explanation for the same³ :

“It having been suggested to us that the name (*The Christian Herald*), which we had selected for this purpose, might lead to its being mistaken for one or two other religious publications issuing from the Calcutta press, we have followed the advice of our friends, and altered the name to that of the *Church of England Magazine*.”

The management of this new periodical was rent with dissension from the very beginning and the *Friend of India* on February 17, 1842, announced that the editorship had already changed hands. *The Calcutta Christian Advocate* observed on March 5, on this change : “We are happy to announce that the *Church of England Magazine* has been rescued from the hands of the Puseyite party into which it was evidently falling. It is to be placed under the superintendence of an evangelical editor by one whose known character in the Church is a sufficient guarantee for its advocating the cause of truth according to the New Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ.....”. This new editor was Rev. K. M. Banerjea.⁴ The editorship of Rev. Banerjea did not also last long and there was a further change in the editorial chair in August 1842 and this new incumbent was “the third Editor in less than eight months”.⁵

On January 7, 1843, came out the *Church Magazine* in place of the *Church of England Magazine*, under new proprietors and a new editor with the inscribed motto : “The Bible, the Bible only, is the Religion of Protestants.”

In the (Introductory) Address in the first Number of this new issue it was given out :

“Our readers will perceive that this periodical is presented to them, this day, in an altered form. Its name has been slightly changed ; and its size considerably enlarged without any in-

3. Extracted in the *Friend of India*, 6th January 1842, p. 6.

4. *Christian Intelligencer*, October 1843 ; “Letter from Rev. K.M. Banerjea to the Lord Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan” ; pp. 951-58.

5. *Friend of India*, 25th August 1842, p. 532.

crease of price. Its principles are now sufficiently manifested by the motto we have selected from Chillingworth, and its management has been transferred to other hands."

Contents for the first Number of the *Church Magazine* (12 pages) were :

1. Address (it was the 'Introduction' for the new publication).
2. Christian Union (editorial).
3. Puseyism No. 1 (a critical composition).
4. The New Year (editorial).
5. Prayer for A Revival (editorial).
6. Thoughts on Balls (an editorial call to the Europeans in India that they should not waste time in Ball-rooms but should come regularly to the Church for prayer).
7. Missionary Intelligence.
8. Memoir of the late Robert Cathcart Esqr. (of the East India Company's Civil Service, Madras).
9. Review (Book Review—Memoir of the life and Ministry of the late Rev. W. Wilkinson, 1842, Thacker & Co.).
10. Who are Authorised Preachers (an extract from a composition by Rev. Dr. A. Duff on the Colporteurs).
11. Humility (a poem)—by Rev. J. Trench.
12. Short extracts from Sermons and foreign religious periodicals.

Commenting on the appearance of the *Church Magazine*, the *Friend of India* wrote on January 12, 1843 :

"By its last change, from a *Church of England* to a *Church Magazine*, it ceases to appear as the organ of a section of the Church universal; and consequently it takes a more liberal tone, and claims a wider range of sympathy and support.... Indeed... the new Editor seems to say, that his grand object will be to awaken personal religion, and further a devout and contemplative spirit in his readers."

And the *Calcutta Christian Advocate* (January 7) observed :

"We sincerely hope that it will now be a little more settled in its principles than it has hitherto been, and as we know its present proprietors are consistent Churchmen, we hope the paper will make a noble stand on the side of the church of Christ, without reference to party or denomination, and the

cause of Christianity, pure and decided, in opposition to Poppery and its foster sister Puseyism."

During one year of publication the *Church Magazine* appears to be concerned more against Puseyism than against Poppery direct as comes out from its contents on these two :

- (a) Considerations on the state of the Church of England, with respect particularly to Puseyism (May 13, 1843).
- (b) Puseyism No. I (January 7, 1843).
- (c) Puseyism No. II (January 14, 1843).
- (d) Puseyism No. III (January 21, 1843).
- (e) Puseyism No. IV (January 28, 1843).
- (f) Puseyism No. V (February 4, 1843).
- (g) Specimens of Puseyism (February 18, 1843).
- (h) The Popish Creed (March 11, 1843).
- (i) Has the Romish Church Enjoyed Unity (March 11, 1843).

The activities of others—the Dissenters, the Baptists, or the members of the Scottish Kirk—had hardly any reflection on the pages of the *Church Magazine*.

The *Church Magazine* did not last long. The last issue which came out on January 6, 1844 contained the notice of its cessation⁶ :

"The Proprietor of the *Church Magazine*... is now under the necessity of intimating to the subscribers, that not having been successful in securing the services of a qualified editor (the retirement of the last editor rendered this necessary)... the publication will cease to be issued from this date..."

6. Extracted in the *Calcutta Christian Advocate*, January 13, 1844, p. 13.

THE CALCUTTA LITERARY GLENER (1842)

In March 1842, came out the *Calcutta Literary Gleaner*¹ pursuant to the prospectus² which was out in the preceeding February—"The first number of the *Gleaner* is to appear on or about the 15th March containing selections from the January Periodicals of 1842" and it "will be printed on a superior Europe paper—each number to consist of 80 pages—price one rupee per number, or ten rupees per annum, payable in advance."

The proprietor for the *Calcutta Literary Gleaner* was W.H. Carey, "the grandson of the late venerable and worthy Serampore Missionary of the name."³ He might also be the editor though we are not sure. It was printed at the Baptist Mission Press and published by Messrs. Ostell and Le Page.

In the prefatory observation in the 1st Number, the conductor of the *Literary Gleaner* dilated the objects of the periodical and the outline of its get-up⁴ :

"... Our object is to provide reading for all classes of society—to establish a journal, the perusal of which shall prove a seasonable realaxation to the mind when oppressed and wearied with the stern realities of life ; and which shall at the same time, as a record of facts—literary, scientific, political, and historical—furnish useful information in a brief and inte-

1. *Friend of India*, March 10, 1842, p. 148.
2. Prospectus of the *Calcutta Literary Gleaner* extracted in the *Friend of India*, February 10, 1842, p. 86.
3. *Bengal Herald*, April 9, 1842, p. 116.
4. Extracted in the *Friend of India*, March 10, 1842, p. 148.

resting form. . . . The first portion of each number will be devoted to Original Articles and Reviews of new works published in India. The second to selections from best light literature of the English periodicals ; Notices of new works published at home ;—literary news, works in progress ; a Biographical Register of persons lately deceased, and who have been eminently distinguished in the works of Literature and Science ; a Register of Political Events in Europe upto the date of the departure of the mail, and the Commercial Condition of England at the latest advices. The third portion will contain Brief Notices of Scientific and other Societies in India and a Monthly Meteorological Journal for Calcutta . . . ”

Commenting on the first Number of the *Gleaner the Bengal Herald* observed on March 12, 1842 : “It is very neatly and accurately printed on good paper . . . The first number is exclusively devoted to careful Selections from the latest periodicals . . . ”

In the editorial review of the second Number of the *Gleaner* which contained sixteen pages of original compositions, the *Friend of India* (April 14, 1842) advised the conductor to prefer selections to such original compositions and remarked that in that case there would still be room for this journal “amidst the crowd of our periodical publications”, for, our “daily papers, even with their present broad sheets, have little room for extracts from English publications, so largely has the range of local intelligence and the range for advertisements increased since the press became free.”

In spite of an auspicious beginning (for, we got from the *Friend of India* that by April, 1842, subscribers for the *Gleaner* exceeded one hundred)⁵ the *Calcutta Literary Gleaner* did not last long (in the subscription lists appended with the *Gleaner* for January and February 1844, we got only 69 subscribers, of whom 6 were natives—Dwarkanath Tagore, Ramanath Tagore, Russicklal Dutt, Jugguttanund Mullick, Ramchunder Doss and Govindchunder Dutt) and in the *Friend of India* on January 4, 1844, we get that the *Literary Gleaner* “is in the market seeking a purchaser.”

5. *Friend of India*, April 14, 1842, p. 227.

Finally in the *Calcutta Literary Gleaner* for February 1844, we get the following notice :

"We tender our thanks to...all contributors who have so liberally favoured us with their communications during the two years when the periodical has been under our management... Subscription to the *Gleaner*, commencing after this date to be paid to Mr. W. Rushton, by whom the journal will henceforward be carried on."

Possibly Mr. W. Rushton could not carry on the *Calcutta Literary Gleaner*. We get no further mention of it in the contemporary periodical publications.

THE LITERARY BLOOSOM (1842)

In March 1842, came out a monthly periodical, the *Literary Blossom*, with the professed object to "excite a laudable emulation in the minds of the young men who have been educated in our academies."¹ It was published by Messrs. P.S.D. Rozario.²

In a review of its first Number, the *Calcutta Christian Advocate* (March 12, 1842) observed : "We must say that it is immeasurably superior to the *Embroys*, *Literary Friend*, etc. The subjects are generally good though savouring somewhat too much of Essay form."

The Literary Blossom was under the editorial management of "a respectable and devoted teacher in one of the protestant Seminaries of Calcutta." It, however, did not last long and we get the notice of its closure in the *Calcutta Christian Advocate* on December 17, 1842 : "The *Literary Blossom* as such ceases to be with the present number."

The subscription rate for the *Literary Blossom* was eight annas per month and it was generally to contain "36 closely printed Duodecimo Pages of original articles."

1. *Calcutta Christian Advocate*, 12th March 1842, p. 362.

2. *Bengal Herald*, April 9, 1842 ; Advertisement, p. 115.

THE BENGAL SPECTATOR (1842)

In April 1842, came out the *Bengal Spectator*—a monthly bilingual (English and Bengali) printed by Banamali Das, No. 5, Tank Square. We get the background story of its publication from a letter of Baboo Ram Gopaul Ghoshe to Baboo Govind Chunder Basak, from Calcutta, dated January 10, 1842¹ :

“The necessity of establishing a paper I had long been convinced of. . . . When I heard the extinction of the *Durpan*,² I have viewed it in the same light as you have done. . . . On last Tuesday evening, the 7th, Tara Chand (Chukervarty), Peary (Chand Mitter), myself met in Krishna’s (Rev. K.M. Banerjea) and we resolved upon establishing a monthly Magazine in Bengalee and English. . . . The Magazine is to keep up a spirit of enquiry amongst the educated natives. . . . to arouse them from their lethargic state. . . .”

The Bengal Spectator was set up by Ram Gopaul Ghoshe and edited by him conjointly with Peary Chand Mitter.³

The aims and objectives of the periodical were declared in the prefatorial address in the first issue :

“In introducing the *Bengal Spectator* to the public we beg to state that our object is humbly to advocate through its pages the cause of the advancement of our country in knowledge and happiness ; and we find the aspect of circumstances, on all sides to be favourable to an attempt. There is an increasing disposition in the Government to promote our inter-

1. *Speeches of Ram Gopaul Ghoshe*, op. cit., p. 84.

2. *Samachar Durpan*.

3. *Hindoo Patriot*, January 27, 1868 ; *Obituary notice of Baboo Ram Gopaul Ghoshe*, p. 27.

rests ; there is a growing sympathy for our welfare in the breasts of Englishmen here and in their native land ; there is a large class of educated Natives with ideas and feelings favourable to improvement, and capable, by proper exertions, of materially increasing its progress... In such...circumstances, it will be our earnest endeavour to lay before the Government the wants and grievances of our community, and pray for those advantages to which they may be deemed entitled, to invoke the generous aid of the English public on our behalf, to exhort the educated Natives to use their best exertions for the advancement of their country..."

It was further intimated that the "*Bengal Spectator* will, for the present, be published monthly...but...the Proprietors... will embrace the earliest opportunity of issuing it oftner, if the patronage of the public be adequate to the increased expense."

Subscription for the *Bengal Spectator* was fixed at the low rate of rupee one monthly or if paid in advance rupees ten annually. The paper was made a fortnightly in September 1842 and a weekly since March 8, 1843.

Its appearance was favourably noticed in the journals under European editorship. *The Friend of India*, in an editorial review of the first two Numbers, on May 19, 1842, observed that the conductors were "spirited" and their sentiments "liberal and enlightened" and the disquisitions "learned". *The Bengal Herald* (June 4, 1842) wrote : "It is well conducted and does much credit to the spirit and talent of all concerned in it."

The Bengal Spectator virtually became the mouthpiece of the Bengal British Indian Society since the later's inception. Dakshina Ranjan Mookerjee, one of the most colourful characters among the Hindu College radicals known as Young Bengal, was for sometime in charge of its editorial management.⁴ Advocacy for social reform, admission of the natives in the higher echelon of the administrative machinery and reform of the land laws were the primary concerns of *the Bengal Spectator*.

In its very first issue the paper took up the question of widow re-marriage and in its fifth Number quoted the Shastric sanction for the proposed reform :

4. Manmatha Nath Ghosh, *Raja Dakshinananjan*, op. cit., p. 79.

“গতে মৃত্যে প্রজীভিতে ক্রীবেচ পতিতে পতৌ
পশুপাপংসু নারীনাং পতিরন্যো বিধীরতে।”

[Women are at liberty to marry again if their husbands are not heard of, dead, retired from the world, proved to be eunachs or become patitas, i.e., outcasts.]

According to Pandit Sivnath Shastri the writer in the *Bengal Spectator* might have been furnished with this quotation by Pundit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar or by Pundit Madan Mohan Turkalankara.⁵ The paper went on agitating for widow re-marriage in many subsequent issues. Sivnath Sastri is of opinion that from the pages of the *Bengal Spectator* this important social question caught the attention of the public.⁶

Another item of social reform advocated by the *Bengal Spectator* was a change in the dietary habit of the natives. This was put up (June 1842) through a letter to the editor entitled “On the Want of Strength and Energy in the Bengali Character and on Animal Food”. Many other letters followed both for and against this opinion. It may be remembered that in extolling the efficacy of a meat-diet for his countrymen the writer was actually upholding a fad of Rammohun Roy which the latter had previously expressed more than once in his writings.

According to the *Bengal Spectator* one of the most important causes for growing impoverishment of the country was the administrative monopoly enjoyed by the friends and relatives of our merchant governors through the evil system of patronage and called upon the Court of Directors (January 15, 1843) that if “it be their wish not to build their renown upon the triumphs of arms and the trophies of war, but upon rights secured, upon liberties extended, humanity diffused, justice universally promulgated” they should first divest the natives of the disabilities upon which they labour.

The *Bengal Spectator* was unhappy over the existing land laws of Bengal and through a feature, “The Heads of the People—The Ryot”, published first on November 1, 1842, and then in subsequent issues, brought to a prominent relief how these were embittering the relation of the ryots with the tenure holders

5. Pundit Sivnath Sastri, *Ramtanu Lahiri*, op. cit., p. 183.

6. Sir Roper Lethbridge, op. cit., p. 115.

in land—the Zaminders, Talookdars etc.—and fomenting disputes and oppression so injurious to agricultural prosperity. The suggested remedies were enactment of Law of Registration⁷ and “diffusion of education on sound principles” which “can alone enable the zamindars and the ryots to know their respective interests and duties.”⁸

In the columns of the *Bengal Spectator* we get rampant use of the word “Hindus” (to quote a few instances—David Hare was a “philanthropist and benefactor of the Hindoos” (June 14, 1842, p. 45) ; “the Hindus have continued immovable”, (May 1842, p. 27), and it may appear that the contributors and the managers of the *Bengal Spectator* were communal in outlook. But possibly such impression would not be correct. Most of them being ex-students of the Hindu College, the term “Hindus” did not connote to them a particular community but the native society as a whole. Through their writings they spoke of the sufferings of the native society in its entirety and not of any particular community. The hero of the feature, “The Heads of the People—The Ryot”, who manfully withstood the oppression of the Talukdar and did not submit to temptation, was one Meajohn, a Mussulman.

The paper did not survive long. On November 20, 1843, we get the following notice for its closure :

“The *Bengal Spectator* commenced its career in April 1842, as a monthly publication...and...appeared fortnightly from September following. Although the subscription list did not exhibit a good array of names, and the amount received per month was in no way encouraging, yet the Proprietors were so anxious to increase the utility of the paper that in March 1843, they made it a hebdomadal. In this form it has had a trial for about eight months, and the result is that the Proprietors have sustained a loss of upwards of one thousand Rupees, and its circulation has not had an increase commensurate with the expense, nor has it been largely availed of as a channel of communication by the Native Community, which was one of its principal objects. Under such discouraging circumstances

7. *Bengal Spectator*, April 25, 1843, pp. 123-124.

8. *Ibid.*, January 1, 1843, p. 11.

the Proprietors regret to notify that they have determined on suspending its publication after this date...

Subsequently, Rev. James Long could ascertain that the *Bengal Spectator* had at one time 170 subscribers.⁹

Commenting on the closure of the *Bengal Spectator*, the *Friend of India* wrote on November 30, 1843 :

"The *Bengal Spectator* is dead... The object of the Journal was to discuss subjects connected with the welfare and improvement of the country... It looked for support therefore, both pecuniary and editorial, to the numerous youths who had received a liberal English education and who were supposed to have been thereby raised above the level of vulgar prejudices, and to have imbibed that European thirst for knowledge, which increases with the supply. In both respects, the conductors have been miserably disappointed... Those youths whose minds have been imbued with the thoughts of Shakespeare and Milton and Addison and Johnson, and enriched with the study of mental and natural philosophy, seem to have dismissed all desire for improvement the moment they had gained the prize, and obtained a situation... The national and hereditary lethargy has overpowered their spirit, and improvement is at an end... the nation sleeps on as in the days of Vikramaditya..."

9. *Friend of India*, April 10, 1851, p. 229.

THE PLANTERS' JOURNAL (1842)

On July 6, 1842, came out the *Planters' Journal*,¹ a weekly periodical. It was the mouthpiece for the Indigo *Planters' Association*² which was formed on January 15, 1840.³

The prospectus⁴ gave out the following as the aims and objectives of the *Journal* :

"...we have no political creed to issue, and no professions of pursuing or opposing the views of a minister to make,... we may creep in as a light craft to give our observations and such intelligence as our arrangements enable us to secure on matters of commercial interest, and effecting the resources, the produce and the advantages of this, the country of our adoption. To the planter our columns offer a free, and ready means of exposing his grievances, and of discussing such subjects as may arise affecting his interests, whilst we propose also furnishing the most accurate accounts procurable of the progression of the crop, and the state of prospects as the season advances, as well as the inference in his favour or otherwise, that may be drawn from the state of the home market for his produce as each mail arrives. Whilst to the Agriculturist we shall offer from time to time such observations and extracts as may occur relative to his pursuits—these are our objects, and to these we shall limit our discussions..."

Subsequently it underwent an alteration in title and became

1. *Friend of India*, July 14, 1842, p. 438.

2. *Ibid.*, January 26, 1843, p. 52.

3. *India Review*, February 1840, p. 936.

4. Extracted in the *Friend of India*, July 14, 1842, p. 439.

the *Planters' Journal, Mercantile and Agricultural Intelligencer*⁵ and it was thus advertised :

"The *Planters' Journal* is the only periodical that publishes a regular Kalendar of operations in the Kitchen, Fruit and Flower Gardens. It also contains extensive information of Agricultural and Commercial subjects... *The Planters' Journal, Mercantile and Agricultural Intelligencer* is published every Wednesday, at the office No. 76, Doomtullah, Subscription 2 Rs. monthly or 20 Rs. per annum, if paid in advance..."

One Mr. Speed acted as the editor for this Journal.⁶

The Planters' Journal had only a short existence, and we get no mention of it beyond 1843. It so appears from a hint in the *Friend of India* that the lack of adequate support on the part of the members of the Indigo Planters' Association led to its closure.⁷

5. *India Review*, April 1843, advertisement.

6. *Friend of India*, November 30, 1843, p. 758.

7. *Ibid.*, January 26, 1843, p. 52.

THE ORIENTAL MAGAZINE (1843)

The Oriental Magazine came out in January 1843, projected by the erstwhile editor of the defunct *Literary Blossom* who was "encouraged in his work to enlarge the Journal and changing it from a blossom to a full blown flower."¹

The contents of the first Number were :

1. An Introduction—p. 1.
2. The Past Year (a review of the political situation) p. 8.
3. Editorial Notice—p. 10.
4. Lines to—(a poem)—p. 11.
5. The Exile's Return No. 1 (a poem)—p. 12.
6. The Anglo-Indian—or An Insight Into The History of Mr. Silas Scribbler, a Scribe (a biographical short story)—p. 14.
7. The Exile's Return No. 2 (a poem)—p. 20.
8. The Reporter (a humorous composition)—p. 23.
9. Musing on Shakespeare (a literary composition)—p. 29.
10. Clarence Mowbery (a tale descriptive of European Society in India)—pp. 34-40.

A few of its interesting compositions in the first year of publication are :

(a) *British Indian Literature* : In it the author notices the gradual emergence of the English periodical press in India and reviewed its progressive development under the aegis of the Europeans, Indo-Britons and the natives (April 1843).

1. *Calcutta Christian Advocate*, December 17, 1842, p. 257.

(b) A Brief Memoir of Late Mr. David Drummond : founder-teacher of the famous Durrumtollah Academy (June 1843).

(c) "Mr. George Thompson's Defence" : a letter to the editor by Mr. George Thompson with regard to his "estimate of the Hindoo character" (September 1843).

(d) Henry Louis Vivian Derozio : A biographical sketch of Derozio (October 1843).

In the issue of December 1843, in an address "*To Our Readers*" the editor claimed :

"... There is one feature, peculiar to our publication, which we flattered ourselves would prove its best recommendation. It is its Indian character. It has been our object to give prominence to everything that is connected with India. Our pages have displayed the resources of India. We have adverted to its characteristic customs ; and explained its most common superstitions. We have done all that our limited means would permit to depict the character of India, past and present. But we have meanwhile not been unmindful to those of our readers who delight to read of England. Original articles on such subjects have been from time to time inserted..."

In the second year of its publication Baboo Kasiprasad Ghosh appears to have become closely associated with it and frequently poems from his pen appeared on its pages.

The Oriental Magazine could not survive for long and possibly with the issue of June 1844, it ceased publication. We get no further mention of it.

The subscription for the *Oriental Magazine* was eight annas per month or rupees five per annum, if paid in advance. First Messrs. P.S.D. Rozario & Co. and then Messrs. Sandes and Cones were the publishers for it while for the first six months the Baptist Mission Press and then the Loll Bazar Press acted as Printers.

THE EVANGELIST (1843)

In January 1843, came out the little (originally containing 16 pages) bilingual monthly periodical, the *Evangelist*. The initiative for this publication rested with the Association of the Baptist Churches in Bengal.¹

The Calcutta Missionary Herald of January 1843, gave out : "It is...intended to convey religious instruction and intelligence to the Native Christians of Bengal ; but for the benefit of those subscribers who are not acquainted with Native language, it is printed in both English and Bengali... (and) although it will not deny its Baptist character, yet it will avoid an unbecoming sectarian spirit."

It was under the editorial management of Rev. J. Robinson of the Baptist Missionary Society.

The contents were classified as follows :

- (A) Essays, Sermons etc.
- (B) Church History.
- (C) Memoirs (both of native and European Mission workers).
- (D) Religious Intelligence.
- (I) Hymns.
- (F) Miscellaneous Intelligence (only relating to Christian Missions).

An important and interesting feature of the *Evangelist* was that literary compositions from the native Christians were invited² and they were encouraged for more and more of these³ : "...for the encouragement of our native brethren, who have occasionally

1. *Evangelist*, January 1843, "Introduction", pp. 1-4.

2. *Calcutta Missionary Herald*, January 1843, p. 11.

3. *Evangelist*, December 1843, "Concluding Remarks", p. 196.

favoured us with their contributions, we beg to assure them, that, as far as our information extends, their articles have been perused with much interest and profit. We therefore trust that they will not be slack in supplying us with further contributions whenever time and opportunity permit. . . .”

From a report of Rev. Robinson it transpired that in 1843 in respect of the *Evangelist* “the expenses were fully covered by the receipts”⁴ and in consequence number of pages was enhanced from 16 to 20 from the issue of January, 1844.

The Evangelist was priced low—“at the small sum of four annas monthly” for the benefit of “our native brethren”. It has one hundred and nine subscribers at the end of the second year of publication.⁵ But from the acknowledgements of receipt both in the first and second volumes it transpires that the *Evangelist* could not attract subscription from the native Christians in considerable number. This may be the real reason for the decision to give up the publication. However, it was closed down with the following notice in the issue of November and December 1845, (there was only one issue, a combined one, for these two months).

“...To conduct such a Magazine, more time and attention is needed than it lies in our power to give it; and with great reluctance therefore we are obliged to bring the *Evangelist* to a close. . . .”

4. Circular Letter of the Association of Ministers and Messengers of the Baptist Churches in the Presidency of Bengal; Assembled at Calcutta from the 25th to the 29th December, 1843; Minutes of the Meetings of the Association held in Calcutta, from the 25th to the 29th December, 1843, p. 38.
5. *Evangelist*, January 1845, “Editorial Remarks”, p. 2.

THE BOUQUET (1843)

In the first week of February, 1843, came out the *Bouquet* as a monthly periodical under the proprietorship and editorial management of Mr. Bellin of the Sans Souci Theatre in Calcutta.¹ In a review of this the *Bengal Herald* observed :

"... (it) is intended for all classes, as it contains matter of all sorts. Mr. Bellin's *Bouquet* is very creditably got up, and being light and frothy may probably become popular. It is illustrated too—another advantage, but we can not say much for the illustrations. One is a view of the Sans Souci... Another is a protrait of Mr. Grant... in the character of Iago... Besides these, there are some plates of the fashions, and some rough wood-cuts, illustrating the text of some of the articles. Of these articles, it may be enough to say that whether original or selected, they are right and readable throughout... We have no doubt, that... the *Bouquet* may take a leading place among our Indian periodicals..."

The *Bouquet* did not last long. For, shortly in the *Friend of India* (March 9, 1843) we get : "Mr. Bellin, of the Theatre, has just been carried off in a very few hours by Cholera."

The second Number of the *Bouquet* however came out and with this it possibly went off publication.² We hear no more of it.

1. *Bengal Herald*, February 4, 1843, p. 36.

2. *Bengal Herald*, March 18, 1843, p. 85.

THE INDIA JURIST (1843)

In May 1843, came out the bi-monthly (2-monthly) paper, *The India Jurist*, printed and published by P. S. D. Rozario & Co., priced each copy at one rupee. It was under the editorial management of Mr. Richard Thomas Martin, a member of the Calcutta Bar.¹

The prospectus with the first Number gave out :

"The Projectors of *The Jurist* offer the reading public a periodical which has been suggested...to be amongst the wants of the Indian community, British and Native.

"The subjects intended to be embraced by this publication, which is not addressed to the professional lawyer, but to the merchant and general reader, may be classed as follows :-

1. Practical expositions of the law-merchants.
2. Lectures, in a colloquial form, upon English jurisprudence.
3. Reviews of Acts of the Legislative Council of India, and of Acts of the Imperial Parliament, affecting India.
4. Notices of decisions in the Supreme Courts of the three presidencies, which are of interest to the Mercantile and Native community.

"The men of commerce and trade will be furnished with correct practical information upon the subject of his everyday avocations ; so far as they are governed by or connected with that prolific source of the good and evil of his life, The Law.

"Students, especially the Native youth, who are becoming familiar with the literature and learning of Europe, are invited

1. *Hindoo Patriot*, February 29, 1864, p. 58.

by *The Jurist*, to bestow a portion of their time and attention upon his expositions, for their use, of the Law of England. His view will be, not to make them lawyers, but to assist them in acquiring such knowledge of English Jurisprudence as is confessedly essential to complete the education of every gentleman...

"To the public generally who take an interest in the Legislative Acts of Government as they affect all or any classes of the community, the labours of *The Jurist* will not be unacceptable..."

The contents for the first Number were :

1. Preparatory Address to the Mercantile Community—p. 1.
2. Law of England : Introductory Lecture—p. 3.
3. Case of the claim of Goluckmoney Dossee—Hindoo Partition : self-acquired property—p. 7.
4. Case of the claim of Small, Colquhord & Co., to prove against the estate of Boyd, Beeby and Co., insolvents, on appeal from the Insolvent Debtors' Court—pp. 11-18.

It was made a monthly publication after the issue of September and the first monthly issue came out on October 9, 1843, and the second one on November 16, 1843. Subscription rate also underwent a change—"Four Rupees per quarter, in advance." This second Number contained a notice which indicated the intention of the Publisher to make it again a bi-monthly (2-monthly) periodical—the next number of the "*India Jurist* will be published early in January."

Possibly this did not come out and the *India Jurist* went off publication. We get no further notice of it.

THE FREE CHURCHMAN (1843)

On September 15, 1843, came out the *Free Churchman* as the mouthpiece of the Free Church of Scotland which became separated from the Established Church in the early part of the year.

The prospectus which was issued on September 4, 1843, gave out the background of its publication and its aims and objectives¹:

"The want of any suitable channel for the due conveyance to Indian readers, of much of the most important information relative to the course and nature of the solemn events which have lately terminated in the disruption of the Established Church of Scotland—has suggested the issue of a local Periodical, which, at a low price and in a compact form, may in some little measure supply this felt deficiency. The vital principles which the struggle involved—even the events themselves,—have not been, are not likely to be presented to view by the Secular Press... Our design... is merely to republish here... such of the most valuable Public Documents—Writings or Speeches—connected with the late crisis, its causes and consequences, as may appear best calculated to exhibit the general religious learning of those great principles for which the 'Free Church of Scotland' is now testifying; and also to give such selections and extracts from other contemporary publications or from bygone records, as many further illustrate the same subject in its details... A small space will be reserved in our pages for occasional correspondence, and original articles... But controversy, political or polemical, we are entirely opposed to, and shall endeavour to do nothing to

1. Prospectus extracted in the *Friend of India*, September 14, 1843, p. 583.

provoke... The Magazine is intended to appear on or about the 1st and 15th of each month..."

The contents of the first Number were :

- I. Pastoral Address by the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, pp. 1-9.
- II. Why Separate ? (In it were given out the reasons for separation from the Congregation of St. Andrew's Kirk in Calcutta and the constitution of a Free Presbyterian Church in connection with the Free Protestant Church of Scotland), pp. 9-13.
- III. Home Intelligence and Selections, pp. 13-25.
 1. The Revd. Dr. Gordon's Address to the General Assembly on the 19th May, 1843.
 2. From the General Assembly's Proceedings relative to its Foreign Missions.
 3. The Last Sitting of the General Assembly, 30th May, 1843.
 4. From Dr. Cunningham's speech in London on the 28th June, 1843 (delivered in Exeter Hall, London).
 5. On the Great Meeting for Christian Union (from the *Witness*, a London religious Magazine).
 6. Miscellaneous, pp. 25-26.
 - (a) On True Knowledge (from Stewart's letter).
 - (b) The Christian Life (from an old author).
- IV. Indian Intelligence : Calcutta, Madras and Bombay (in connection with the Free Church of Scotland), pp. 26-32.

The first Number of the *Free Churchman* was forwarded to many "friends" for "inspection", many of whom expressed a wish for its continued delivery² and thus it was claimed, it could commence with an "almost unprecedented extent of circulation"³ and at the end of the first volume (with the issues from July to December 1843) the subscription list was "quite sufficient to encourage" the promoters.⁴ The list of subscribers was however not published and hence the justification for this claim can not be scrutinised.

2. *Free Churchman*, October 14, 1843, p. 117.

3. *Ibid.*, October 31, 1843, p. 191.

4. *Ibid.*, December 15, 1843, p. 428.

Soon the enthusiasm of the subscribers, even if it existed at all, and with that the subscription list appear to have considerably dwindled down and we get in the "Closing Note" of the second Volume⁵ :

"...The Editors...have determined to continue the Magazine,...at least, during another half-year, in its present form ... They hope, that by that time, the consolidation of the Free Church cause will render the publication of any peculiar organ, on its behalf, almost unnecessary here ; and that the large pecuniary sacrifice, at which this magazine, even in its smallest (and original) form, is now conducted may be more effectively applied to the same great cause, in some other way...".

Since the commencement of 1845, the *Free Churchman* was converted into a monthly periodical to be issued on the 15th of each month. But yet it could not overcome the financial embarrassment for want of subscribers as would be evident from the "Editorial Note—An Alternative" in the *Free Churchman* of October 15, 1846 :

"Several of our kind readers,—who are unwilling that our magazine should be so speedily brought to a close...have proposed, if a sufficient number of new subscribers can not be obtained that new or additional subscriptions be taken instead. Thus if forty or fifty of our present subscribers (and a less number would not do) were each to subscribe for two copies instead of one, this of course would be the same to us as 40 or 50 new subscribers, each paying his single sum. We are quite willing to comply with this friendly suggestion..."

With the additional subscription thus realised a Guarantee Fund was created⁶ which would release the editor and proprietor from "a burden of pecuniary responsibilities."⁷

The Rev. John Macdonald had been the editor of the *Free Churchman* since the beginning and with his sudden death in August 1847, it became a serious question whether the publica-

5. Ibid., June 29, 1844, p. 641.

6. Ibid., January 1847 ; Acknowledgement for additional subscription ; second cover.

7. Ibid., December, 1846, p. 1015.

tion of the work should be continued. Finally, it was however decided to be continued under a new editor (whose identity was not disclosed) "considering that subscriptions have been paid in advance for the whole year."⁸

The new editor continued till the publication of the last Number for 1848 and then another took over under a new arrangement; the proprietary right over the *Free Churchman* was transferred to a gentleman who was "not even a member of the Free Church" while a Missionary of the Free Church exercised the editorial management over it. Under the new management the existing pecuniary arrangement for the *Free Churchman* was given up⁹:

"We believe that the publication, if well conducted, will do good; and will therefore be very glad if its circulation be sufficient to enable its proprietor to continue its publication. But at the same time we have a great dislike to that fictitious sort of circulation which is established for some religious periodicals, by their friends' taking a number of copies for the mere purpose of supporting the publication, and with the intention of circulating the copies among those who may not be able to subscribe themselves. Such a subscription list we have no wish to see. The *Free Churchman* should either defray its own expenses by a bonafide circulation among actual readers or it should be discontinued."

The effect of this new policy regarding pecuniary arrangement proved suicidal for the periodical. From the acknowledgements for subscription in the issues for 1847, 1848 and 1849 (which we may reasonably deem to be more or less complete) we find that while in the first two of these years roughly 80 (or little more than that) copies were subscribed for, in the third year there were only about fifty subscribers.

In the "Editorial Notes" in December 1849, the Management for the *Free Churchman* wish "that our friends would kindly exert themselves to gain for us an accession of subscribers."

The *Free Churchman* lingered on for about a year more and finally in March 1851, it "ceased to be."¹⁰

8. Ibid., September 1847, extra sheet without page number.

9. Ibid., "Editorial Note", p. 48, (January 1849).

10. *Calcutta Christian Advocate*, March 15, 1851, p. 123.

Originally the *Free Churchman* was solely concerned with the affairs and interest of the Free Church of Scotland and hardly others—the Evangelical Episcopalians, the Baptists or the Independents—had any share of its columns. It was only in 1849, but more so in 1850, when the proprietorship of the *Free Churchman* was vested with one outside the circle of the Free Church of Scotland that articles without any bearing on the Free Church principles were admitted, viz., (a) Motives of the Hindoos in seeking Education (February, 1849), (b) Morality of Vedantism (February, 1850), (c) On the Proper use of Time (March, 1850), (d) Napoleon's View of the Character of Christ (May, 1850).

Initially the price of each Number of the *Free Churchman* was four annas or six copies for a rupee. The subscription was fixed up at rupees eight per annum for its monthly edition. Since January 1847, for those who would be in arrear for six months this rate was fixed at rupees nine per annum.

THE HINDUSTHAN GUARDIAN (1844)

In April 1844, came out the *Hindusthan Guardian*, a weekly journal "very neatly executed", at the press of W. H. Carey & Co.¹

The review of its first Number in the columns of the *Friend of India* (April 25, 1844) reveals the general nature of this new periodical :

"The *Hindusthan Guardian* : ... From a careful perusal of its editorial matter, we learn that it is to be conducted on principles diametrically opposed to those which distinguish the great majority of our Indian journals... In reference to European politics, the Editor is... strictly Conservative... he purposes to be a 'Reformer in Hindoostan, where great and palpable changes must go in almost every great division of the State for many years to come.' But he is shocked with the license possessed by this Press to a degree hitherto unknown to our own country'... He also believes that the Government of India could not be administered 'more vigorously, discreetly or conscientiously, than by the illustrious personage which it has pleased our beloved sovereign to place at the head of it' ... The Religious principles of the *Guardian* are those of the Reformed Protestant Faith..."

The *Hindusthan Guardian* could not survive even for a half-year and we get the following notice of its closure in the *Calcutta Christian Advocate* on July 20, 1844 :

"The Editor of the *Hindusthan Guardian* in his last Saturday's issue says that he is about to devote his labours to other matters, and that the paper will henceforth be discontinued."

1. *Friend of India*, April 25, 1844, p. 259.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW (1844)

The Calcutta Review made its appearance on May 15, 1844, and the prefatorial address in the first Number gave out the following indication of its aims and objectives :

“...the object of this work is simply to bring together such useful information, and propagate such sound opinions, relating to Indian affairs, as will, it is hoped, conduce, in some small measure, directly or indirectly, to the amelioration of the condition of the people. Our first desire is, to awaken interest; to induce a thirst after information; then to supply that information; and finally to teach the application of it to its most beneficial uses...”

The Calcutta Review shot up to popularity immediately as we get in a “Notice to Advertisers”¹ :

“The *Calcutta Review* having now reached its 11th number, its Proprietor begs to draw the attention of Advertisers generally to that work as highly advantageous medium for Advertisement... Soon after the publication of the first 2 numbers of the Review its regular circulation suddenly increased to upwards of 800. And...the circulation has ever since continued steadily to increase with each successive number... The Review is published quarterly about the first of the months of January, April, July and October...”

Circulation of the *Calcutta Review* went up further and even rose upto fifteen hundred copies per Number.² This high circulation was almost a wonder and the contemporary editors variously accounted for it. Thus Rev. T. Boaz who did single handed carry on the *Calcutta Christian Advocate* for so many years wrote :

1. *Calcuttar Star*, October 28, 1846.

2. *Friend of India*, December 13, 1855, p. 901.

"What it is that has given such a circulation to the *Calcutta Review*? Its purely Oriental character..."³ According to the editor of the *Citizen* also the popularity of the *Calcutta Review* was due to its "decidedly Oriental character."⁴ The editor of the *Morning Chronicle* thought that this popularity was due to "the interest, the variety, the accuracy, and the importance of its information on all Indian affairs."⁵

Gradually the days of prosperity for the *Calcutta Review* passed off, and by 1855 it was almost gasping for existence as we get in the *Morning Chronicle* (May 16, 1855): "We...acknowledge receipt of the March Number of the *Calcutta Review* which appears to be expiring its last breath in long drawn sighs, this Number being published three months after it ought to have been in print..."

This was thus accounted for by the editor of the *Morning Chronicle* (September 16, 1856):

"...From the very beginning, the whole was an affair of amateurship. The projector and proprietor who took up on him all the pecuniary risks, was allowed to retain all the pecuniary profits. Not one of the editors ever received a single cowrie for all their anxiety and toil. Not one of the volunteer staff of contributors ever obtained, or desired, a single cowrite for the valuable products of their brains. Editorship and contributions—all were alike gratuitous. When this fact is properly considered the pre-eminent and universally acknowledged success of the work for so many years may well excite a feeling of astonishment. And instead of wondering, that, latterly it began to exhibit symptoms of weakness and decline, the real marvel is, that starting with the air and strut of a giant, it should for such a length of time, have maintained the strides of a giant's march..."

In December 1855, it was purchased by the editor of the *Friend of India* at Rs. 5000/-.⁶ Till this time editors for the *Calcutta Review* had been in succession Mr. J.W. Kaye and Revs. Alexander Duff, W.S. Mackay and G. Smith while Rev. John Macdo-

3. *Calcutta Christian Advocate*, January 11, 1851, p. 17.

4. *Citizen*, July 5, 1852.

5. *Morning Chronicle*, September 16, 1856.

6. *Hindoo Patriot*, December 20, 1855, p. 402.

nald was the Joint-editor for a time.⁷ It was possibly just a coincidence that the editors since departure of Mr. Kaye were all Ministers of Free Church of Scotland and their sectarian belief had hardly any reflection in the pages of the *Calcutta Review*.

The *Calcutta Review* did not long remain with the editor of the *Friend of India*. The first Number under his management came out in March 1856, and the last one in December 1856 and then we get the following notice in the *Friend of India* on December 25, 1856 :

"The *Calcutta Review* has again changed hands... The story of the Review under its new management may furnish, however, a curious chapter in the history of Indian literature. It was taken up by the Editor of this journal as an experiment. He held the theory that money in India was as valuable as money out of it, that regular remuneration would produce regular and valuable contributions. The theory proved only partially correct... Contributions poured in freely. In the midst of some sad rubbish, articles appeared of which any periodical in Europe would have been justly proud... It was evident, however, from the first Number that the original calculation was a failure. There are writers in India who will write without being paid. There are writers in India who do not object to receive money, though they would have written as readily without. But there are none who write well, yet simply and solely for the sake of money. The consequence is an irregularity... irritating to an Editor... But one contributor out of thirty has ever adhered punctually to his engagements... and before the third Number appeared, a notice announcing the suppression of the *Review* had actually been written..."

The new proprietor who took over the *Calcutta Review* in 1857 faced much difficulties on the outbreak of Sepoy Mutiny. For, "many of its subscribers have been killed and its supporters... up the country would scarcely find the inclination to pay it all the attention it deserves."⁹ Nonetheless it was carried on beyond 1857.

7. Rev. Lal Behari Dey, *Recollections of Alexander Duff*, London, 1879, p. 193.

8. *Calcutta Review*, September, 1856; "Notice" (unnumbered page).

9. *Friend of India*, July 9, 1857, p. 653.

(1) THE CALCUTTA CHRISTIAN
HERALD (1844)
AND
(2) THE CALCUTTA STANDARD (1846)

On Wednesday July 17, 1844, came out the *Calcutta Christian Herald*, a weekly, printed and published by W.H. Carey & Co. at 10, Cossitollah, with the following notice as to its character and objectives :

"...The *Christian Herald* is intended to be a religious newspaper, thus differing from all such newspapers as are not religious and all such religious periodicals as are not newspaper... The object of the *Christian Herald* is to present to the Christian people of India a view of all events and occurrences that seem to bear upon the interests of religion, and at the same time to supply such a summary of general news, as may be supposed to be interesting or useful to Christian citizens, who have duties to discharge as members of the community."

The *Calcutta Christian Herald* was priced at one rupee monthly or ten rupees yearly, if paid in advance. Advertisements "of a character consistent with the principles of the *Christian Herald*" were welcomed "at two annas per line" and considerable quantum of space was generally under advertisements.

Since May 1845, a *Monthly Christian Herald* containing summary of religious and general intelligence for transmission to Europe was undertaken by the proprietors of the *Calcutta Christian Herald* at the subscription of rupees five per annum to the annual subscribers of the *Christian Herald* and at rupees six to others.

The Calcutta Christian Herald, however, could not survive for long. It came to an end with the issue dated December 24, 1845, with the following notice¹ :

"An advertisement that accompanies our present number informs our readers of an intention on the part of our publisher to establish a daily newspaper. It is our part to state that in connexion with this intention, it is proposed to discontinue the *Christian Herald* ; and with our present issue the existence of the *Herald* terminates..."

The new paper that arose was a daily—The *Calcutta Standard*. The prospectus for it gave out² :

"Deeply convinced of the influence exerted on the public mind by means of the daily Newspaper Press, a few friends of true religion, in Calcutta, have resolved upon establishing a daily Journal upon Christian principles, with a view to consecrating a portion of that mighty influence to the service of the Most High God. It is therefore proposed on the first of January next to issue the first number of a daily Morning Journal to be entitled *The Calcutta Standard*... *The Standard* will be the organ of no sect and party whatever. It will uphold no theological doctrines save those which are essential to the vitality of religion ; but will be pledged to lift up its voice against irreligion, under whatever garb it may appear..."

The rate of subscription was fixed at rupees four per month and in advance, rupees twenty two for half-year and rupees forty per annum.

The first number of the *Calcutta Standard* came out on the New Year's Day of 1846³ and its appearance was thus hailed by the *Oriental Christian Spectator* (February, 1846)—"Few things of late have given us more joy than the hopeful commencement of this journal." It shortly absorbed in itself another Calcutta periodical, the *Calcutta Economist*.⁴ *The Calcutta Standard* owed

1. Extracted in the *Calcutta Christian Advocate*, December 27, 1845, p. 616.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., January 3, 1846, p. 6.
4. *Calcutta Christian Advocate*, January 24, 1846, p. 38.

its origin to the exertions of W.H. Carey, grandson of the Rev. William Carey of the Serampore B.M.S.⁵

The Standard however could not survive even a period of probation and went out of publication during the first week of June 1846.⁶ The editor of the *Standard* explained his position⁷ : "We have found ourselves unable from various circumstances to keep up strictly to the principles on which the journal was commenced. We feel from experience that the time for a daily newspaper on Christian principle has not yet dawned on India."

A few months after this there was a talk for revival of the *Calcutta Standard*.⁸ In fact it reappeared on the 1st of January 1847, and catering this intelligence the *Calcutta Christian Advocate* wrote on January 9, 1847 : "... It is, of all the dailies, the lowest in price, three rupees a month. . . . The *Standard* does not profess, under its new management, to be what it formerly assayed to be, a religious newspaper. Nothing opposed to religion will be admitted into or advocated in its columns, but it will seek for public favour on the general grounds of a daily paper." But it was almost a still-born baby as we get, on March 18, 1847, from the *Friend of India* : "The *Calcutta Standard* dies a second time this morning and we suppose will experience no further resurrection."

5. *Friend of India*, July 25, 1846, p. 489.

6. *Ibid.*, June 4, 1846, p. 359.

7. Extracted in the *Oriental Christian Spectator*, July 1846, p. 274.

8. *Ibid.*, January 1847, p. 38.

THE INDIA SPORTING REVIEW : A RECORD OF THE TURF, THE CHASE, THE GUN, THE ROD AND SPEAR (1845)

In the *Calcutta Star* on December 18, 1844, we get the prospectus for *The India Sporting Review : A Record of the Turf, the Chase, the Gun, the Rod and Spear*. The prospectus gave out that this would be a quarterly periodical undertaken by the proprietor of the *Star* (*the Calcutta Star* and the *Eastern Star*) as "a Sporting Record for the three presidencies". Subscription for this was fixed at rupees twenty per annum, to be paid in advance.

Accordingly, the *India Sporting Review* came out in March 1845, and the *Friend of India* (April 17, 1845) wrote :

"...the *India Sporting Review*...evinces much industry, and seems to be well supported by contributors...it contains eight lithographic prints several of which are of singular excellency, and would sustain a fair competition with some of the best productions of the class in England."

The India Sporting Review was quite voluminous in size as the contents in its issue of September 1846 (the first available one) reveals :

Original Contributions :

1. Fanciful Realities or Sketches from Scenary, Sport and Incidents Common to All Observers in India—p. 1.
2. Recollections of Sports—Buffalo Shooting—p. 9.
3. Extracts from a Sporting Journal—p. 16.
4. The Death of the Arab (an Arab horse, poem)—p. 20.

5. The Principal Game Animals of the N.W. Province—p. 23.
6. Sporting Reminiscences—p. 32.
7. Sketches of the Road—p. 34.
8. Up-country Horses—p. 46.
9. A Trip to the Pencha River (in Behar)—p. 51.
10. A Review of Ferozepur—p. 54.
11. A Fortnight's Sport—p. 60.
12. Race for the Winners' Handicap, Dacca, 1845, p. 69.
13. Sporting Gallery—The Portrait of Master Mathew—p. 72.
14. Shooting Places from Lahore to Meerut via the New Road—p. 73.
15. Mode of Ensnaring Elephants in the District of Coimbatore—p. 75.
16. Ascot Racing Places, 1846—p. 80.
17. A Few Words on Sporting Subjects—p. 83.
18. Master Mathew Writeth Anent the Arts—p. 94.
19. Horses in Training for 1846-47—pp. 102-108.

Besides these there were Selections from other works and Sporting Intelligence covering 207 pages and Racing Calender covering 31 pages.

This was well embellished with nine prints—in black and white and in colour.

We have no definite idea of the circulation of the *Sporting Review* in the initial years of its publication. Possibly it was not widely circulated as we may guess from the following "Notice to the Subscribers" in the issue for September 1846 :

"From the commencement of next year the price of the *Indian Sporting Review* will be Rupees 25 per annum. The comparatively limited circulation of the work and the expense of the embellishment render this advance imperative."

The circulation appears to have improved subsequently. In the subscription list appended with the issue for June 1848, we get 350 subscribers (with only one Indian—Kajah Abdool Gunnee of Dacca).

In April 1850, the proprietorship of the Star Press and of the *Morning Chronicle* (the *Calcutta Star* was redesignated as the

Morning Chronicle since March 25, 1850) changed hands and became the property of Mr. J.H. Love. But the ownership of the *India Sporting Review* passed on to M/s. Sanders Cones and Co., 14, Loll Bazar,¹ and in 1853 it was under the editorial management of Abel East.² According to the *Hindoo Patriot* this Abel East was Mr. James Hume himself, in nom de guerre.³

The days of prosperity for the *India Sporting Review* (if it was at all a prosperity with a limited circulation as mentioned earlier) did not last long, and we get this observed in the *Friend of India* on September 27, 1855,—“The *Sporting Review* published in Calcutta is dying, and indeed the taste for this kind of literature seems to be slowly perishing.” This point was dilated in greater length in the *Morning Chronicle* on May 5, 1855, in the editorial review of the *India Sporting Review* for March 1855 : “... This appears to be a very feeble number of the *Review*... To us, however, the existence of this *Review* has long been a miracle, seeing that there is no sporting of any kind at or near the Presidency, and we hear of little elsewhere in India. At Calcutta there were formerly Races, a pack of hounds, a hog hunting Club, Yachting matches, etc., all of which have been swept away and perished ; and we repeat it, the sustained existence of a *Sporting Review* among us appears a little short of the miraculous...”. The seclusion (with a sufficiency of leisure) in the life of the Englishmen in India which made them lovers of sports with “the chase, the gun, the rod and spear” was fast breaking down with the railways spreading out in India and the steam communication between India and Europe and this must have affected adversely the popularity of the *Sporting periodicals* here.

As if to suit the gradually changing ways of life a new series of the *India Sporting Review* was commenced in 1856, with which shortly an Advertiser was added with the following notice⁴ :

“It having been determined to publish *The India Sporting Review* every second month, instead of quarterly as hereto-

1. India., June 22, 1850, advertisement.

2. *Citizen*, February 7, 1853.

3. *Hindoo Patriot*, September 29, 1862, p. 309.

4. *India Sporting Review*, June 1856.

fore, and to reduce the size proportionately, room will be afforded for an Advertiser, which will be prefixed with each number...and the *Review* going to all parts of India...and finding its way into a large number of Book Clubs and Messes, is specially deserving the notice of tradesmen and others, addressing themselves to the public...Terms of subscription—Rupees 20 per annum, including postage...”

Abel East was still in the editorial charge of it.

The India Sporting Review continued till the close of the year 1857 and we get the following notice of it on December 10, 1857, in the *Hindoo Patriot* :

“*The India Sporting Review* will be transformed into the *Indian Field*, a weekly journal of sporting and general intelligence.”

THE MOFUSSILITE (1845)

In the *Friend of India* on July 24, 1845, appeared the following advertisement for a new weekly paper :

“*The Mofussilite* : Edited by J. Lang, Esq, Barrister-At Law. This journal (consisting of 20 Quarto pages) will be published every Saturday evening. . . As may be gleaned from the name, this journal will be written exclusively for ‘the people in the Mofussil’ ;—the proprietor trusts, however, that the attention it will be found to bestow on Oriental Literature and other materials intimately connected with ‘the land we live in’, will render it worthy of general support. . . Terms of subscription, 25 rupees per annum. . . Messers P.S.D. Rozario & Co., the Publishers, No 8, Tank Square.”

Accordingly the *Mofussilite* came out on August 2, 1845, and the *Friend of India* wrote on August 7, 1845—“We. . . offer our new contemporary a very cordial welcome to the guild. The paper opens without any political creed, or any additional promises. . .”

After about four months, in the last week of November, we get the following notice of the *Mofussilite*—shifting to the mofussil in the Agra Presidency (*Bengal Catholic Herald*, November 22, 1845) :

“...the *Mofussilite* is going into the Mofussil and that it is to appear twice a week, the same in shape, size, and price as the *Delhi Gazette*. We think the measure wise. The separation of the N.W. Provinces from those of Bengal has extended also to the department of newspapers. . . and our countrymen

in the Agra Presidency... may be said to have a press of their own, which is the representative and advocate of their local interests."

After shifting to the Agra Presidency the *Mofussilite* re-appeared on March 4, 1846.¹

THE RATIONAL ANALYSIS OF THE GOSPEL (1845)

The Rational Analysis of the Gospel, a weekly periodical, started its career on August 9, 1845.¹

The background of its publication is thus stated by the *Calcutta Christian Advocate*² :

“Some months ago, the Hindus, under the influence of tumultuous excitement, combined together in one grand confederacy with the view of putting down all Christian Missionary Institutions, and driving, if possible, all Missionaries out of the land. The attempt signally and deservedly failed. . . . Throughout the months of June and July, mysterious hints were constantly thrown out. . . . It was then plainly announced that a terrific work was preparing by the leaders of the Vedantic sect or school, which, when published, would, like the explosion of a mighty mine, blow up the citadel of Christianity from its very foundations.”

The Calcutta Christian Advocate assumed Baboo Debendra Nath Tagore to have been the prime mover behind this enterprise. This was also asserted by the *Friend of India*.³

No copy of the *Rational Analysis of the Gospel* has survived. Details about it are however available in the Supplement to the *Calcutta Christian Advocate*, November 1, 1845, which also contains extensive extracts from all the issues. From these we get as follows :-

The 1st Number (which was in the nature of an introduction)

1. *Calcutta Christian Advocate*, Supplement, November 1, 1845.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Friend of India*, November 20, 1845, p. 741.

had nine pages and began with these words, "Let us proceed to examine, without any prejudice, the life of Jesus Christ" and contained the following announcement: "To be published every Saturday—price one anna".

The subsequent Numbers came out in the following order:

2nd Number on the 16th of August, 1845, with the article—"Account of the Jewish people and their Prophets—enquiry into the prophecies relating to Jesus."

3rd Number on the 23rd of August, 1845, with the article—"The Birth of Jesus Christ."

4th Number on the 30th of August, 1845, with the article—"Adoration of the Magi and Shephards—massacre of the innocents."

5th Number on the 6th of September 1845, with the article—"Other circumstances which followed the birth of Jesus Christ."

6th Number on the 13th of September, 1845, with the article—"Baptism of Jesus Christ—his abode in the desert—commencement of his preaching and miracles—marriage at Cana."

7th Number on the 20th of September, 1845, with article on "the Journey of Christ to Jerusalem—the Sellers driven out of the Temple—conference with Nicodemus." This also contained the announcement: "Notice is hereby given, that the publication of the next Number of the *Rational Analysis of the Gospel* is to be postponed during the remainder of this and whole of the succeeding month." No subsequent issue appears to have come out as no such indication is available in any contemporary periodical.

The first Number of the *Rational Analysis of the Gospel* contained the following notice: "To be published every Saturday—price one anna. Apply at the Probhakar Press." In the second Number it was announced that in addition to the Probhakar Press copies might be had "at the house of Baboo Shamachurn Mookerjee, No. 83, Dhobapooker at Churuckdanga." In the third Number it was intimated that copies might also be had by applying to "Baboo Narainchund Mookerjee in Ahareetollah Street." Successive opening of new distribution centres goes to show that this weekly periodical opposing Christianity became popular.

Quite naturally the *Rational Analysis of the Gospel* created

a stir in the Missionary circle.⁴ *The Friend of India* in an editorial on December 4, 1845, observed :

"...These...are carefully adapted to the present stage of knowledge and the state of morals among the Hindoos, and unless the effort should die out, they will contribute to foster in the rising generation that hatred of Christianity which is apparently the active feeling in Hindoo society in Calcutta. In this crusade against Christianity we find men of all sects and parties meeting as on common ground...brahmuns and soodrus—young Bengal and old Bengal,—the well educated Hindoo youth who has studied Shakespeare and Bacon, and the old Hindoo who believes that the world rests on the back of a tortoise,—are all united in one general opposition to the truths of Christianity...and one of the results of their labours has been the production of these..."

The Calcutta Christian Observer (December 1845) added :

"As Christian Observer we could not but be grieved to notice the great efforts lately made by the infidel portion of the educated Hindus to disseminate their irrational and blasphemous dogmas through anti-Christian publication. In order to furnish an antidote to the poison, the friends of Christianity resolved to publish a series of Anti-Infidel tracts."

In an introduction to this series (the Anti-Infidel tracts) published in the Weekly Supplement to the *Calcutta Christian Advocate* during the period of November 8 to December 27, 1845, Dr. Alexander Duff rhetorically denounced the *Rational Analysis of the Gospel* as "a ridiculous little ill-favoured pamphlet...peeping and muttering shameless sounds of stale worn out abuse and hackneyed falsehood and impotent ire!" and caricatured it with the description "Irrational paralysis of the Gospel."⁵

4. *Itihas*, Bhadra, 1362 B.S., "Tattwabodhini Sabha O Debendra Nath Tagore" by Prof. Dilip K. Biswas, pp. 33-46.

5. *Calcutta Christian Observer*, December 1845, p. 829.

THE ECONOMIST (1845)

On September 1, 1845, came out the *Economist*, a daily afternoon paper.¹ It however did not last long and in the *Calcutta Christian Advocate* on January 24, 1846, we get the following notice :

"The *calcutta Economist* is defunct, it has been incorporated with the *Standard* (the paper by W.H. Carey).

Commenting on this the *Calcutta Star* wrote² : "We expected it would fall—in fact we were sure of it—because the price would have been altogether inadequate to the expense had the circulation been even greater than that of any daily in Calcutta".

The following observation of the *Friend of India* on January 22, 1846, reveals the nature of its contents and the character of the paper during its short span of life.

"... There was nothing in its original articles calculated to win the respect and confidence of the public, while the quantity of private slander which was admitted into its columns, tended continually to augment the number of its enemies. Unhappily for its reputation, a knot of unprincipled men at Dacca was permitted to make it the vehicle of own calumnies, to invade the sacred privacy of domestic life, and to inflict the deepest wound on the feelings of those whom they disliked. The death of the paper will, we hope, put a stop to more than one prosecution which it is reported has been held out."

1. *Friend of India*, September 11, 1845, p. 582.

2. *Calcutta Star*, January 16, 1846.

THE INDIAN SUN (1846)

In February 1846, one Fureedoodden Khan issued prospectus for the *Indian Sun*—a weekly newspaper to be published in five main languages then in use in this Presidency—English, Persian, Oordoo, Hindee and Bengalee.¹ For ordinary subscribers the annual rate of subscription was fixed at Rs. 40/- per annum but for the 'Noble Rajahs' and 'Kings of India' no sum was fixed and it was left "to their generosity to remit him whatever their feelings may prompt."²

Accordingly the *India Sun* came out on June 11, 1846.³ In an editorial review on June 18, 1846, the *Friend of India* observed—"the present work can be of little if any use to any one, and the vast labour which must be bestowed on it, will be entirely lost."

The Indian Sun did not survive long and a few days later the *Friend of India*, on July 30, 1846, informed us : "The *Indian Sun*... has set for ever, without, however, leaving the horizon in greater darkness than before."

1. *Calcutta Star*, February 19, 1846, advertisement.

2. *Friend of India*, February 19, 1846, p. 117.

3. *Calcutta Star*, June 13, 1846.

THE ORIENTAL OBSERVER (1846)

The Oriental Observer, a monthly English periodical, came in July 1846,¹ with the following Preface² :

"It having been for sometime an object of intense anxiety among ourselves and friends to have an English journal... discussing on topics, and treating of matters, most interesting to our country, embodying therein the feelings and sentiments of the Natives on these matters, and humbly laying them before the Government and the European Public ;—which should also make the educated portion of our countrymen alive to the importance of the questions bearing upon the improvement and regeneration of their country and afford them a free organ of communicating their thoughts on those subjects and temperately and deliberately advocating at the hand of the Government the justice and expediency of introducing into this country the necessary objects of reform... we have been induced to project the publication of a periodical under the title of the *Oriental Observer*..."

It was priced at the cheap rate of four annas per mensem. Originally it was printed at the Chundrica Press and then since the 3rd Number of Volume I, September, 1846, by L.B. and Bose, at the Stanhope Press, 44, Bowbazar. Tincorey Mookerjee was the "Conductor" of the paper and possibly he was also the proprietor. On conclusion of the first Volume in February, 1847, (there was no issue for March 1847) a change took place in the editorial management of the paper which was thus announced in the issue for April, 1847 : "At the request of our predecessors,

1. *Englishmen and the Military Chronicle*, July 11, 1846.

2. *Oriental Observer*, Preface to Vol. I, 1846.

we beg to advertise to our readers that the *Oriental Observer* has, during this month, passed over into new hands."

We have no precise idea about the subscription list of the *Oriental Observer*. But in "A word about ourselves" (in August, 1847), we find the proprietor lamenting for the "limited circulation of the periodical" and telling the readers that its circulation could not be "pushed forward beyond the ditch," (beyond the metropolis).

The contents of the first available Number (September 1846) were :

1. An introductory address—p. 41.
2. The Question of Lord Hardinge's Retirement and the Sikh War Policy—p. 47.
3. Establishment of Colleges in the Zillahs of Bengal—p. 52.
4. On Sanscrit Versification—pp. 58-68.

[All these covered twenty eight pages in all.]

The *Oriental Observer* appears to be opposed to the Young Bengal whose "besetting sin" according to it was "want of perseverance."³ Then, in a humorous composition in the issue of May 1847, entitled 'The Prospects of Young Bengal'—we get them described as "nothing more nor less than a youngman of about twenty, who while in College, held a scholarship, and who can even now—that is, after the lapse of two years during which he has been in the look-out for a situation—talk of Milton and Shakespeare, Smith and Bacon, as well as of differentiation and Curves of the Higher Order—of polarisation and double refraction" who could ultimately secure a job a little over an amlah but got his vanity "not a little tickled by contemplating, that he may some day see himself gazetted as Sub-assistant or Deputy somebody, and dwells with raptures on the sunny and bewitching idea of his being complimented with the euphonic designation of Roy Bahadoor."

The nascent spirit of patriotism of the time is reflected in many of the compositions in the *Oriental Observer*. The authors of these were inspired with a sense of pride for India's past heritage and confidence in her future glorious prospect. Two such pieces of prominence are The Drama of the Hindoos (in the issue of

3. Ibid., April 1847, p. 1.

May, 1847) and *A Contrast between Old and Young India* (in the issue of June, 1847).

The Oriental Observer had its own say on the question over which the whole Hindoo Society was then deeply agitating—Hindoo Widow Remarriage. Its opinion on this issue was cautious and halting as the following statement indicates (May 1847): “We fear the minds of our countrymen are not yet prepared to that extent as to justify the immediate introduction of any bold innovation, (such as the re-marriage of widows) especially before we have fairly discussed and settled several points of grave importance indissolubly connected with our social scheme which these innovations will completely disorganise.”

The Oriental Observer was conscious of another much talked of problem of the time—the corruption of the amlahs. The suggested remedy of the evil was quite unique (August 1847)—“vigilant supervision of an enlightened public, ever watchful of its rights and privileges.”

We do not exactly know when the publication of the *Oriental Observer* ceased. It is not unlikely that “A word about ourselves” in the issue for August, 1847, proved to be the swan-song :

“The Proprietor of the *Observer* started this periodical with the laudable intention of making it the vehicle of disseminating useful information on various subjects connected with the social amelioration of his countrymen. Money has never been any object with him, and he has most readily taken up our suggestion with reference to the appropriation of the surplus, should the *Observer* ever yield any, to some purposes of charity. His views, however, he saw, could not be promoted, to the extent of his wishes, owing to the limited circulation of the periodical...”

We get no further mention of it in the contemporary journals.

THE HINDU INTELLIGENCER (1846)

On November 16, 1846, appeared the *Hindu Intelligencer*, a weekly newspaper, with the maiden leader¹: "This is our first appearance... a new-born offspring of native intelligence, of which, however, we can not speak with any degree of confidence at the very moment of its birth, seeing as we do, that none of the race to which it belongs, has yet outlived the days of infancy... All, therefore, that we now ask for it, is the goodwill of the Public, which is too essential to its existence..."

In a review of the first Number of the *Hindu Intelligencer* the *Calcutta Star* observed on November 17: "...if the *Intelligencer* is aiming at distinction, we fear he is rather unlikely to hit the mark. The editor is evidently too much of a Chuckerbutty,² to be a good intellectual shot... The *Hindu Intelligencer*... appears to be consciously rushing on its own fate."

The Hindu Intelligencer, however, shot to popularity almost instantaneously and it became necessary to publish a second edition of the first Number³ and its subscription list also immediately swelled to a good length as the Englishman wrote on December 5,

1. *Hindu Intelligencer*, November 16, 1846, quoted in the *Friend of India*, November 19, 1846, p. 742.
2. "too much of a Chuckerbutty"—this expression had been used in a derogatory sense (to imply too much of high and free thinking, but too little of action). Tarachand Chuckerbutty was a student and disciple of H.L.V. Derozio in the Hindu College and a leader of the Young Bengal. Out of his name Capt. D.L. Richardson coined the term "Chuckerbutty Faction" to mean his associates who were ahead of their time in free thinking; Sivnath Sastri, *Ramtanu Lahiri*, op. cit., p. 144).
3. *Calcutta Christian Advocate*, November 28, 1846, p. 565.

1846 : "This hebdomadal has already secured upwards of two hundred subscribers. The proprietor... is doing his best to make it an organ worthy of the native public."

The high popularity of the *Hindu Intelligencer* might be due to its editorial guideline which was pre-eminently marked by a spirit of patriotism and sense of national pride. As an illustration of patriotic sentiment we may quote the following editorial comment (may 9, 1853) on the collection for Wellington Endowment Fund (for the establishment and maintenance of a college in England for the exclusive benefit of the sons of European military officers serving in this country) : "The subscription to the Wellington Endowment Fund... are progressing most favourably in this presidency... by the liberal contributions of native princes and soldiers, who had lost the prestige of their former power by the defeats they had suffered in consequence of the military tactics of the deceased Duke... If these various sums... had been available for the promotion of native education, it would have benefitted the country from which they have been drawn. But perhaps the princes, nobles and soldiers in India are more interested in marking the sense of their own humiliation and assisting in training up young officers who would probably at some future period reduce them to a worse condition." Such a comment required both courage and imagination at that period of time.

The *Hindu Intelligencer* became the forum for ventilating the grievances of the native service holders against their English masters : "The Keranis and Sirkars... look to the *Intelligencer* as their representative at the bar of public opinion."⁴ Whoever had a genuine grievance could go upto the columns of the *Intelligencer*. Thus appeared the letters to the editor (to cite a few instances⁵) : (a) "Grievances of a Native Clerk" by 'H' (who had been summarily discharged from a public office merely on ground of suspicion), (b) "The Bengal Military Accountant's Office and the Groans of the Native Assistants" by "Quill Driver" (complaining against the suppression of the native Assistants in matters of promotion by the English and the Indo-Britons),

4. *Hindu Intelligencer*, April 16, 1849, letter to the editor, by 'HM'.

5. Ibid., (a) March 19, 1849 ; (b) August 28, September 10, 1849 ; (c) June 25, 1849.

(c) "The Military Board Office and Clipping System" by "Amicus" (in that office every native was "invariably and without any exception whatsoever, fined for his absence, be it occasioned by unpardonable laziness, debilitating unhealthiness or pressing necessity" but for being detained to a very late hours for some urgent business was entitled to "Nothing whatsoever, save perhaps an occasional manifestation of barren approbation from the servile minions of the Arch-huzoor").

The education for the girls and the remarriage of the widows were the two social questions over which the contemporary Hindu society became highly agitated. *The Hindu Intelligencer* was not opposed to female education as such but was opposed to the way in which Mr. Bethune was carrying it on which was according to it something like a sacrilegious undertaking contrary to the Hindu tradition.⁶ The idea of female education of Mr. Bethune and of Rev. K. M. Banerjea was stigmatised as a "contagion" from the Christian Missionaries (June 8, 1857).

On the question of the remarriage of the Hindu widows the *Hindu Intelligencer* was of the view that the time was not yet ripe for it⁷ : "... We have no doubt of it ourselves (that one day re-marriage of Hindu widows will be an accepted practice) and indeed we shall be glad to see the said restriction removed. We are opposed only to premature attempts at reform knowing that such attempts serve no better purpose than to retard the real progress." According to it any legislation for legalising widow re-marriage "might lay the foundation of forming a new class of men like native converts."⁸

The editor of the *Hindu Intelligencer*, one of the best products of the Hindu College, was farthest off from the Young Bengal and kept its columns open for humourous digs at the radical group of that name. The following (on October 8, 1849) provides a good illustration :

"An Invite From Punch, Jr. on Behalf of Young Bengal"

"Come all ye Hindoo sinners,
With us to English dinners,

6. Ibid., June 18, 1849.

7. Ibid., February 10, 1855.

8. Ibid., November 26, 1855.

And you will be great winners,
 By and bye, by and bye,
 And you will be great winners
 by and bye.

"You'll learn to drink Champagne
 As earth drinks in the rain,
 And great will be your gain
 In the end, in the end,
 And much will be your gain
 In the end.

"Baby-food we now eschew,
 For us't will no more do ;
 Roast beef and barbecue
 Suit us best, suit us best,
 Roast beef and barbecue
 Suit us best

"Once like you, we sat forlorn,
 Dared not call our souls our own ;
 See what fashion now has done!
 Made us men, made us men,
 See what fashion now has done
 Made us Men

"Our name is 'Young Bengal',
 We can now stand as tall
 And just as loud can bawl
 As the 'tom' as the 'tom',
 And just as loud can bawl
 As the 'tom' !

"Your ladies must come out,
 And learn to turn about,
 At ecartè, to play or rout,
 And to 'polk' with the Sahibs,
 To polk with the Sahibs

With the Sahibs

“Aye, in all the public places
 They must shew their modest faces,
 And copy Europe graces
 Without shame, without shame,
 And copy Europe graces
 Without shame !

“My countrymen, you know
 Improvement’s ‘all the go’ ;
 So we hope you’ll not be slow
 In accepting our ‘Invite’
 In accepting our ‘Invite’
 Our ‘Invite’.”

According to the *Hindu Intelligencer* the Young Bengal stood for “certain evil propensities, ill calculated to uphold society, enlighten their nation and reform their morals.”⁹

The *Hindu Intelligencer* was the first native newspaper to contain column for “Domestic Occurrences” (“Personal” column in the newspapers of the present day) in which would appear notices of birth, marriage and death in the native families of high rank.

The rate of subscription of the *Hindu Intelligencer* was as follows :

In advance — per annum	— Rs. 20.
“ „ — per half-year	— Rs. 10.
“ „ — per quarter	— Rs. 5.
In arrear per month	— Rs. 2.

Originally there was no rate for single copy which was subsequently fixed at rupee one.

In his *The Life of the Hon'ble Rai Krishna Das Pal*, Baboo Ramgopal Sanyal mentioned Kasiprasad Ghosh both as the editor and proprietor of the *Hindu Intelligencer*.¹⁰ Kasiprasad might be the editor all along but originally he was not the proprietor. The earliest available issues of the *Hindu Intelligencer* date from January 1, 1849 and the first notice of the Printer and

9. Ibid., October 1, 1855 ; observation in course of editorial review of the Bengali periodical, the *Masik Putrika*.

10. Ram Gopal Sanyal, *The Life of the Hon'ble Rai Kristo Das Pal Bahadur*, C.I.E., Calcutta, 1886, p. 20.

Publisher which is available dates January 15, 1849, and runs thus : "Printed by Mendes & Co. at No. 3½ Lall Bazar and Published by Greeschunder Bose at No. 16, Shibnarain Doss's Street, Bahir Simlah, where all communications or applications for the paper, accompanied by remittance or reference for payment, are requested to be forwarded." It was the general practice in those days that the proprietor himself attended all the monetary transactions and communications. Naturally, therefore, in the present case Greeschunder Bose (who was also the publisher) attended these, as the proprietor. The proprietorship of Greeschunder Bose becomes further confirmed from another notice on September 24, 1849 : "Baboo Greeschunder Bose having left Calcutta to visit his native country in the district of Dacca, on urgent private affairs, it is requested that all the applications for subscriptions to the *Hindu Intelligencer* be in future forwarded to the address of the Printer, Mr. A. Lawrence. . . He is authorised to sign bills and grant receipt *protem*." This notice continued till November 5, 1849, and then since November 19, 1849, we get the notice : "Printed and published by Prawn Kisshun Sirkar, at the Intelligencer Press, 27, Cornwallis Square." We do not get any further specific mention of Greeschunder in connection with the *Hindu Intelligencer* and we presume that Kasiprasad Ghosh got into the proprietorship of the *Hindu Intelligencer* since this time. Possibly he was now in joint proprietorship with Greeschunder Bose ; for, in the above notice (dated November 19, 1849) Prawn Kisshun Sirkar is found to print and publish the paper for the "Proprietors."

It may be mentioned here that months before this, Kasiprasad Ghosh became financially involved with the *Hindu Intelligencer*. The *Hindu Intelligencer* on January 29, 1849, contains the notice that "successive change of our Printers. . . produced the desirable effect of inducing the establishment of an independent Press of our own, from which our present number is issued." The *Sambad Bhaskar* observed in the issue of February 2, 1849, that this had been out of the purse of the editor (Kasiprasad Ghosh) and described it as a laudatory achievement.¹¹ This was the prelude to the proprietorship of Baboo Kasiprasad Ghosh.

11. Brojendra Nath Bondyopadhyaya, *Sambad Patre Sekaler Katha*, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 438.

The first available issue of the *Hindu Intelligencer* after December 1849, is that of January 3, 1853. It contains the notice that Bholanath Doss was the Printer and Publisher of the *Hindu Intelligencer* for the "Proprietor." It appears that at any time during the period of 1850-1852, Kasiprasad Ghosh became the sole proprietor and since then he was the editor as well as the proprietor. During this period, at first Bholanath Doss was the Printer and Publisher till May 4, 1857, and since then these functions were discharged by Ramdoyal Chuckerburty, as revealed from the subsequent issues of the *Hindu Intelligencer*.

It goes to the credit of the *Hindu Intelligencer* that it provided journalistic training to many of the future stalwarts in the field. Hurish Chunder Mookerjee (of the *Hindu Patriot*), Girish Chunder Ghose (of the *Bengal Recorder* and the *Bengalee*), Sambhu Chunder Mookerjee (of the *Mookerjee's Magazine* and the *Reis & Rayyet*) and Kristo Das Pal (of the *Calcutta Monthly Magazine*) all had their apprenticeship in its columns.¹² In fact Hurish Chunder Mookerjee became first known to the public through his contributions to the *Hindu Intelligencer*.¹³ But Kasiprasad stood poles apart from them on many a social question and possibly this association, at least for some of them, did not last long. Ram Gopal Sanyal tells us that the zeal of Hurish Chunder Mookerjee for the *Hindu Intelligencer* cooled down in view of his growing difference of opinion with its editor who suppressed a number of his articles.¹⁴ Such might be also the case with Girish Chunder Ghosh who in 1850, set up the *Bengal Recorder*. Hurish Chunder Mookerjee readily availed himself of the opportunity to join it and severed his connection with the *Hindu Intelligencer*.¹⁵

The Hindu Intelligencer went out of publication in June 1857, during the critical days of the Sepoy Mutiny as a silent protest against the legislation passed by Government to curb the liberty

12. Manmatha Nath Ghose, *Manishi Bholanath Chandra*, op. cit., p. 40.

13. *Hindoo Patriot*, June 19, 1861, obituary notice for Hurish Chunder Mookerjee, p. 196.

14. Ram Gopal Sanyal, *Kristo Das Pal*, op. cit., p. 21.

15. *Ibid.*

of the Press (Act XV of 1857). This is revealed by the following notice in the *Hindoo Patriot*.¹⁶

"The *Hindu Intelligencer* is discontinued from this week. The editor won't work under the restraint, such as the new Press law imposes on public writers."

16. *Hindoo Patriot*, June 25, 1857, p. 202.

THE ORIENTAL BAPTIST (1847)

The *Calcutta Missionary Herald* for November 1846 contained the following notice :

"A Word to Our Readers : . . . The Baptist denomination at present possesses no organ, in India, by means of which it might give expression and circulation to its principles, its claims and its wants. The poorer members of our churches and the young people of our congregations might derive a great benefit from a magazine written in a style adapted to their wants and combining articles calculated not only to enlarge their minds and sympathies, but also affect their hearts. But whilst the desirableness of such a magazine can not be called in question, considerable doubts are still entertained respecting the practicability of such an undertaking."

The doubts, however, were dispelled and a new monthly magazine printed and published by Rev. J. Thomas at the Baptist Mission Press "Under the Auspices of the Association of Baptist Churches in Bengal," came out in January, 1847, with the title of the *Oriental Baptist*. It was priced at rupees three per annum, payable in advance.

The introductory observations in the first Number thus gave out the editorial guideline for the periodical :

"...though denominational the *Oriental Baptist* will not be sectarian, nor be conducted in the spirit of bigotry. While the chief object of the magazine is the diffusion of pure religious and practical truth and of intelligence respecting the progress of the Redeemer's Kingdom in India and other parts of the world and particularly in connection with that division of the Church universal under whose auspices it goes forth, its columns are open for discussion of all questions pertaining to CIVIL

and RELIGIOUS LIBERTY, a cause for which our fathers boldly pleaded and nobly suffered..."

In spite of this resolution to conduct the *Oriental Baptist* on broad based principles it became mostly a mouthpiece for the Baptists as the following "General Observations" from the editor himself would indicate¹ :

"...In the estimation of some, not unfriendly to our publication, too much has appeared...on the subject of Baptism. Circumstances have rendered it necessary to insert more on this subject than was perhaps intended..."

Since the issue for March 1847, "A Juvenile Department" was opened which appeared intermittently and the contents for this for the first month were : prose—(i) Brotherly Love, (ii) My Mother's Grave, (iii) A Praying Sunday, (iv) The Boy Believer ; poems—(i) The Child's Prayer, (ii) The Child's Confession.

On the appearance of the *Oriental Baptist* the other periodical by the Baptist Missionaries, the *Calcutta Missionary Herald*, was merged with it and formed the concluding eight pages of the new periodical containing reports of the operations of the Baptist Missionaries in this land.

The Oriental Baptist shot up to popularity with the members of the Baptist churches, and out of its sale proceeds a profit could be earned in the very first year of its appearance.² By the end of the third year it had "upwards of four hundred and fifty subscribers,"³ something unique for any religious periodical of this period in this country.

It was carried on beyond the period of our study.

1. Ibid., December 1847, p. 361.

2. Ibid., January 1848, p. 27.

3. Ibid., January 1850, p. 1.

THE GYANUNJUN (1847)

On April 15, 1847, came out the bilingual (English and Bengali) weekly, *Gyanusjun*.¹ *The Bengal Harkaru* gave out the following particulars about it : "It consists of 8 pages, each page being composed of 2 columns. The paper is edited by Baboo Choyton Churn Adhikaree of Bowbazar and will be published every Thursday² morning." Further we learn from the *Friend of India* (August 12, 1847) that it was printed at the "Bengally Superior Press," 7, Bow Bazar and the rate of subscription was one rupee a month or nine rupees per annum, payable in advance.

As the *Gyanunjun* appeared on the wake of the closure of such bilingual papers like the *Gyananneshun*, the *Sunbad Souda-mini*, the *Bengal Spectator* etc., it was acclaimed in high terms by the *Sunbad Purnochundrodoy*, the vernacular newspaper.³

The Gyanunjun, however, had no better luck than its predecessors, and we get the following notice of its closure in the *Friend of India* on December 16, 1847 :

"*The Sunbad Gyanunjun*...tells us that he likewise has been obliged to bend to the storm now raging in the commercial world, and suspend operations. The Editor takes his leave of his subscribers by informing them that his supporters consisted chiefly of those who were dependent on the houses which have become bankrupt, and that he has therefore been obliged to put the affairs of the journal into the hands of trustees, and retire from business."

1. *Bengal Harkaru*, April 17, 1847.

2. This day of publication appears to have been changed subsequently from Thursday to Saturday, as we get in the *Friend of India*, August 12, 1847, p. 503.

3. *Sunbad Purnochundrodoy*, April 19, 1847, extracted in the *Bangla Samayik Patra*, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 93.

THE HINDU BONDU (1847)

In the *Bengal Harkaru* on August 13, 1847, we get :

"We have been informed from a respectable source that a section of the educated natives of Calcutta have in contemplation to issue a monthly publication under the name of *Hindu Bondu*, in English and Bengali languages, containing expositions of the Christian religion, being chiefly original articles written either in English or Bengali, and translation from well known infidel works against Christianity. The publication is intended to be started from the beginning of the Bengali month of Vadra next. The price of each copy is fixed at two annas, and already the proprietors have managed to get 400 subscribers."

Accordingly it came out in Bhadra, 1254, B.S. (corresponding to the second half of August 1847) and was under editorial management of one Umacharan Bhadra.¹ It immediately became popular and could secure about 500 subscribers. It however did not survive long and went off publication after only four monthly issues, due to dissension among the conductors of the paper over the division of profit from the enterprise.²

1. *Provakar*, 1st Vaishakh, 1255 B.S., quoted in *Bangla Samayik Patra*, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 95.

2. *Dharmaraj*, Phalgun 1259 B.S. (February 1853), *ibid.*

THE PICNIC MAGAZINE (1848)

In March 1848, came out the *Picnic Magazine*—a “monthly Journal combining Selected Reviews and Notices of New Books, Tales, Travels, Biography, Science, Poetry, Drama, etc.—carefully compiled from all the British Periodicals, least generally read in India,”¹ priced twenty rupees per annum or two rupees per single Number.

In an “Address” with the first Number its objectives were thus given out :

“It appeared to the Projectors of this Magazine that many Periodicals were published in England, containing excellent Reviews, Tales, and various other matters which never met the eye of the public in India... that a Magazine comprising picked and selected articles from all the periodicals least generally read in this country, would... be a talking and amusing compilation, acceptable and worthy of public support... and tend to bring into notice those publications, and increase their subscribers in India.”

Contents in the first Number were grouped under the headings—(A) Selected Reviews, (B) Notice of New Books : (i) Biography, (ii) Science, (iii) Scientific Notes, (iv) Tales, (v) Fine Arts, (vi) Poetry, (vii) Chess, (viii) Miscellaneous. All these covered a total of 152 pages. The contents in the subsequent Numbers more or less followed this pattern. With the commencement of the Volume II (with the fifth Number) the original plan for conducting the *Magazine* underwent changes—it now became an “illustrated” journal of selected and “original” compositions.

1. *Friend of India*, March 9, 1848, advertisement, p. 158.

We have no information as to the extent of support to this *Magazine*. It suffered in the same way as many of its predecessors—for want of support. Number 12 of the *Magazine* came out in February 1849, with the following advertisement which we get in the *Friend of India* on February 8, 1849 :

“*The Picnic Magazine* will for the future be published quarterly, until a sufficient number of subscribers are enrolled to enable it to resume its monthly issue. This step has become necessary for the loss sustained by the Proprietors during the past years... The price will be 10 Rupees per annum in advance, and 3 Rupees per copy in arrear. The size will be increased 200 pages or more if possible.”

Possibly the quarterly issue did not come out. We get no further mention of the *Magazine*.

THE INDIA REGISTER OF MEDICAL SCIENCE (1848)

In the *Friend of India* on January 20, 1848, we get the following advertisement :

“New Medical Journal : It is believed to be a subject of regret to the Medical Profession that now for sometime past they have had no Medical Journal. . . It is therefore proposed to commence the publication of a Monthly Periodical, to be called the *India Register of Medical Science* similar to the Journal Edited by Messrs. J. Grant and J.T. Pearson. . . and afterwards carried on by Dr. Corbyn. The price. . . will be 12 Rupees per annum in advance. It will be Edited by Edward Eldin, M.D., Deputy Apothecary General. . .”

Accordingly it came out and we get extracts from it in the *Friend of India*.¹ Its appearance soon became irregular and subsequently the following advertisement appeared in the *Friend of India* on October 26, 1848, to explain this irregularity :

“*The India Register of Medical Science* will appear monthly as usual. Dr. Eldin having left Calcutta for the forntier, please to address Officiating Editor. . . Dr. Eldin solicits contributions and new subscribers and old subscribers to take 2 copies, in order that a Medical periodical may be kept up in India.”

Medical operation under influence of Mesmerism was then being introduced and the *India Register of Medical Science* became the chasnel for catering information of this new development.²

Possibly it went off publication sometime in 1849, and we get no subsequent mention of it.

1. *Friend of India*, February 10, 1848, p. 85.

2. Ibid., (a) November 16, 1848, p. 727.

(b) December 7, 1848, p. 774.

THE INDIAN TIMES (1849)

The Indian Times came out as a daily newspaper in January, 1849.¹ It was projected by Capt. Francis Palmer who also acted as its editor.² It consisted of a sheet of royal paper and subscription was fixed at a very low rate—as there existed in Calcutta “a large class to whom a daily paper is a great luxury, but who are unable to afford the sum charged by the larger papers.”³

In March 1850, Mr. J.H. Love purchased the *Calcutta Star* and since March 25 got it published as the *Morning Chronicle*. Shortly after this the *Indian Times* passed into his hands and was incorporated with the *Morning Chronicle*, since May 1, 1850.⁴ This amalgamation was thus explained in the *Morning Chronicle* on May 7, 1850 :

“We deem it right to state, that a general misconception is abroad in respect to the motives by which the proprietors were actuated in disposing of the *Indian Times*. We have seen it stated, in many papers, that the cessation of that journal was owing to a conviction it would not prove remunerative. No such thing; it paid its way very well and became incorporated with this paper without the drag of one single dumree (sic) of debt. . . it had. . . successfully stood the test and the future would have proved it to be far more remunerative than its proprietors had ventured to anticipate; but an offer for sale having been made which they deemed

1. *Englishman*, February 1, 1849.

2. *Hindoo Patriot*, December 1, 1862, p. 378.

3. *Friend of India*, June 6, 1850, p. 357.

4. *Morning Chronicle*, March 25, April 30 and May 1, 1850.

advantageous...and preferring, certainty to chance, closed with the proposition..."

In spite of this explanation the incorporation of the *Indian Times* with the *Morning Chronicle* was viewed in the Anglo-Indian world of Press as an instance of failure of cheap journalism and we get the *Friend of India* writing in its issue dated May 9, 1850 : "...we fear that cheap Journalism does not remunerate in India ; for, the *Indian Times* had, we believe, a very fair circulation, and was upon the whole a well conducted and candid paper. Its success, we should augur, was not sufficiently remunerative to encourage the proprietors to continue their efforts to serve the public."

THE LITERARY CHRONICLE (1849)

In September 1849, came out the *Literary Chronicle*, a monthly periodical, supposed to be the first monthly English journal conducted by the natives.¹ In the "Preface by the Editor" with the first Number we get :

"We have the pleasure of offering to the public this new Journal... (Its) pages will embrace a variety of discussions on Literary, Scientific and other interesting subjects, in entering which, we will neither be influenced by vanity nor prejudice ; nor suffer ourselves to be degraded by the trammels of superstition and nationality... To matters of local interest, we should pay our early attention, as the exposure of the grievances of our country, and of the causes, which induce their existence, is one of our primary objects in view."

The contents of the first Number of the *Literary Chronicle* were :

1. Preface by the Editor.
2. Calcutta Police Investigation.
3. The East India Company's Policy (In it a "disrelishable" but "bold truth" is told—that the English in India "are now degraded as a set of interlopers, dreaded for their power but hated for their pride" and they "must assimilate themselves with the people of India, make their interest identical with the interests of their own, before they can expect to be looked upon with feelings of love and respect").
4. Stanzas (a poem).
5. Lord Byron (a critical appreciation).

[All these covered 24 pages.]

1. Manmatha Nath Ghose, *Bholanath Chandra*, op. cit., p. 128.

A poetical composition in the issue for July, 1850—The *Seikh War Song*—deserves specific mention. In it the nascent spirit of patriotism became articulate which gave a call for war to drive out by force the foreign foe (the English were meant though not specifically named) which enslaved the poet's "Native Land" and made her to die.

The editorial management of the *Literary Chronicle* rested with Koilash Chunder Bose,² a school-mate (in the Oriental Seminary) of Grish Chunder Ghosh, founder-editor of the *Bengalee*, a newspaper of the post-Mutiny days.

Originally Baboo Ramtarun Bose was the proprietor of the *Literary Chronicle* and then since May 1850, Cooraram Ghoshal was the proprietor, according to the notice in the issue for June, 1850 : "Baboo Ramtarun Bose, the late Proprietor, having gone into the Mofussil on some public duty, this paper has been made over with all its assets and liabilities on the 1st of May 1850, to Baboo Cooraram Ghoshal..."

At first the *Literary Chronicle* was printed at the Samachar Chundrika Press and then by Harihar Sandel at the Encyclopaedia Press, 148, Cornwallis Street. Publisher's responsibility appears to have rested with the proprietor. But since June 1850, after the transfer of the proprietorship to Baboo Cooraram Ghosal, this was printed and published for the proprietor, at the Anglo-Indian Union Press by Messrs. Sheeraj and Dutt.

Baboo Grish Chunder Ghosh, the renowned editor of the *Bengalee* of the post-Mutiny period, was a regular contributor in the *Literary Chronicle* and of his compositions the two most important are the 'East India Company's Policy' (September 1849) and the 'Sheikh War Song' (July 1850).³ Hurish Chunder Mookerjee whose relations with the *Hindu Intelligencer* had become strained by now⁴ might have also contributed to the *Literary Chronicle* as he did for its contemporary, the *Bengal Recorder*.

The *Literary Chronicle* did not last long and we get the following notice of its discontinuance in the *Calcutta Christian Advocate* on February 15, 1851 :

2. Manmotha Nath Ghose, *Pitri-smriti*, Calcutta, 1346 B.S., p. 17.

3. Manmotha Nath Ghose, *Bholanath Chandra*, op cit., p. 128.

4. Ram Gopal Sanyal, Krishto Das Pal op. cit., p. 21.

"Discontinuance of the *Literary Chronicle*—We have been given to understand that the *Literary Chronicle* is to issue no longer. The December Number has been its last. There is nothing unusual in the event itself...for, the time for periodical literature in this country is not yet come..."

THE BENGAL RECORDER (1849)

In December 1849, came out the *Bengal Recorder*¹—a weekly periodical to be published every Monday from the Encyclopaedia Press at a monthly subscription of eight annas.

The prospectus contained in the first Number detailed the aims and objectives of the paper thus² :

“...the projectors of the *Bengal Recorder* have determined to make a bold and strenuous effort to establish a Weekly Newspaper on principles of economy and general usefulness. They have long contemplated with regret the want of an English Periodical available to all classes of Natives... With a view to fill up this desideratum as well as to secure the Native community an efficient medium through which to advocate their cause with the Rulers of the land, it has been thought expedient to submit to the public the first number of the *Bengal Recorder*...of 12 columns altogether, from 4 to 5 shall be regularly appropriated to Editorial matters. Original Communications and General Literature shall have their due share of attention and all manner of News, Commercial, Military, Political, etc. shall be carefully noted...”

In an editorial review of the first three issues of the *Bengal Recorder*, the native English journal, the *Literary Chronicle*, hailed it as “another interesting sample of the progress of the native mind in English Literature and Science.”³ And in a review of its first

1. Sir Roper Lethbridge, *Ramtanu Lahiri*, op. cit., p. 209 of Appendix II.
2. Extracted in the *Calcutta Christian Advocate*, January 19, 1850, p. 28.
3. *Literary Chronicle*, January 1850, p. 27.

number on January 17, 1850, the *Friend of India* classed it as a "rival" of the *Hindu Intelligencer*.

Sreenath Ghose was the founder-editor of the *Bengal Recorder* while his brother Grish Chunder Ghose was so closely connected with it as to be described as "Joint Editor" with his brother.⁴

Hurish Chunder Mookerjee (later of the *Hindu Patriot*) was a regular contributor to the *Bengal Recorder*. He was so long writing in the *Hindu Intelligencer*, but his relation with it was gradually getting cool "in consequence of his growing difference of opinion with the editor who suppressed a number of his articles" and so he readily availed himself of the opportunity to join the *Bengal Recorder*.⁵

No copy of the *Bengal Recorder* is available. But there are extensive extracts of it in the contemporary papers and from these we are acquainted with the shades of its opinion on the various socio-politico-religious concerns of the contemporary native society.

The *Bengal Recorder* held that the various practices of the landlaws in Bengal and the administration of these were prejudicial to the interest of the poor ryots.⁶ It also held up the benami transactions of landed properties as a source of much evil.⁷

The *Bengal Recorder* was an advocate for female education as would be evident from an editorial on February 18, 1850,⁸ in which it applauded the efforts of Mr. John Drinkwater Bethune.

In common with the spirit prevailing among the educated youth of the time the *Bengal Recorder* was under the impression that the grievances of the natives would be redressed if only these could be taken over to the British Parliament—"The noble House that could impeach Warren Hastings...in the name of

4. Manmotha Nath Ghosh, *The Life of Grish Chunder Ghose*, Calcutta, 1911, p. 78.

5. Ram Gopal Sanyal, *Krishto Das Pal*, op. cit., p. 20.

6. Extracted in the *Friend of India*, June 27, 1850, p. 409.

7. Ibid., May 30, 1850, p. 343.

8. Extracted in the *Calcutta Christian Advocate*, February 23, 1850, p. 90.

the people of India...will not certainly turn a deaf ear to...their subjects."⁹

The Bengal Recorder, unfortunately, did not last long and ceased towards the end of the year 1850. We get the following notice of its closure in the *Calcutta Christian Advocate* on January 4, 1851 :

"*The Bengal Recorder* and its cessation—In the last number of the *Bengal Recorder*, the editor announces the discontinuance of that Journal. We regret the early demise of the paper. We have always looked upon it as one of the best conducted native journal. The majority of the articles which appeared in its columns were marked by ability and a good spirit. The editor attributes the failure of the project to the low price of subscription and the limited support afforded by the native community..."

9. Ibid., April 27, 1850, p. 199.

(1) THE MORNING CHRONICLE (1850)
AND
(2) THE DAILY NEWS (1857)

In March 1850, Mr. Charles Butcher relinquished the editorial charge of the *Calcutta Star* and also sold off its proprietorial right on ground of "that state of health which renders the conduct of a daily journal next to impossible."¹

The new proprietor, Mr. J.H. Love, rechristined it since March 25, 1850, as the *Morning Chronicle and the Calcutta Star*. A reduced rate of subscription was also announced :

In Advance, per annum	: : Rs. 50.
—Do— „ half-year	: : Rs. 30.
—Do— „ quarter	: : Rs. 16.
—Do— „ month	: : Rs. 6.
In arrear per month	: : Rs. 7.

A ter-weekly edition of the *Morning Chronicle* was shortly introduced. It had the rate of subscription same with the daily edition. It was to be published on every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday and to contain all the original matters and all the Indian news of the daily edition. It was for "the benefit of residents in the Mofussil, who suffer from the oppressive rates of postage."

Since May 1, 1850, the *Indian Times* became incorporated with the *Morning Chronicle* for which the full title was now "*the Morning Chronicle with which are incorporated the Calcutta Star and the Indian Times*."² The erstwhile proprietor of the *Indian Times* exercised editorial control over this for a time.³ The sub-

1. *Morning Chronicle*, March 25, 1850.

2. *Ibid.*, May 1, 1850.

3. *Hindoo Patriot*, December 1, 1862, p. 378.

scription rate of the *Morning Chronicle* after this amalgamation underwent revision through the following notice on May 9, 1850 : "The terms of the *Morning Chronicle* were fifty rupees in advance for the year and six in advance for the month. The subscription to the *Indian Times* was thirty-two rupees per annum in advance or three rupees for the month. It is now proposed to adopt... a medium rate..."

This "medium rate" was as follows :-

In advance per annum : Rs. 40/-

In advance per month : Rs. 4/-

In arrear per month : Rs. 8/-

In the *Bengal Catholic Herald* and in the *Citizen* on November 26 and 14, 1853, respectively we get a notice issued in the name of Rev. Dr. Marriot (a dismissed Chaplain in the Bengal Establishment) proposing to publish a new daily paper, the *Evening Mail* which would supersede the *Morning Chronicle*. The *Evening Mail* came out in the first week of January 1854, without however suppressing the *Morning Chronicle*. It did not last long and stopped since the last week of June 1854. The *Morning Chronicle* went on steadily.

In 1852, the identity of the editor of the *Morning Chronicle* became an object of scrutiny. Mr. J. H. Love was so long proclaiming himself as the editor of his paper. But the *Citizen* in July 1852, in an editorial, asserted that Mr. Love "never wrote a paragraph in his life", that he did not edit the *Morning Chronicle* and that the editor was in fact Dr. O'Callaghan.⁴ This assertion was borne out by the Letter No. 122 of 1852, Military Dept., dated July 14, 1852, (letter from the Governor General in Council to the Court of Directors of the E.I. Company) which gave out that Asst. Surgeon Dr. J. O'Callaghan, Asst. Garrison Surgeon of Fort William, is connected with the editorial management of a Calcutta daily newspaper called the *Morning Chronicle*.⁵

For sometime, possibly after withdrawal of Dr. O'Callaghan, Sambhu Chunder Mookerjee (the reputed editor of the *Reis and*

4. *Citizen*, July 14, 1852.

5. Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1852-53, Vol. 29, Paper 897 I; Supplemental Appendix to Report from the Select Committee, p. 10.

Rayyet of later days) was the editor of the *Morning Chronicle*.⁶ But he and Mr. Love were at opposite poles with regard to Lord Dalhousie's policy in Oudh and he was soon compelled to vacate his chair.

Under the proprietorship of J.H. Love, the *Morning Chronicle* appeared for the last time on August 18, 1856. It did not come out for two days and then reappeared under the proprietorship of L. Mendes on August 21, 1856, with the notice—"In consequence of the proprietorship of the *Morning Chronicle* having changed hands, the non-issue of the journal for the last two days was unavoidable. We, therefore, trust our readers and subscribers will overlook the circumstances." The rates for subscription were also lowered—three rupees per month, or thirty-six rupees per annum in advance or rupees four per month in arrear. In the *Hindoo Patriot* of August 21, 1856, we get an explanation for this—"The *Morning Chronicle* ceased to exist from yesterday (August 18). The press and materials were taken in execution (of Court's decree) by the Sheriff on Monday. The paper had for some years been carried on at a loss."

The *Morning Chronicle* finally came to an end in February 1857, and we get the following notice in the *Hindoo Patriot* on March 5, 1857 :

"The *Morning Chronicle* is no more, and in its place is a newspaper called the *Daily News*."

The new paper replacing the *Morning Chronicle* could not survive any length of time and in the *Dacca News* on March 21, 1857, we get :

"The *Daily News*, successor of the *Morning Chronicle*, has ceased to exist.

6. F.H. Skrine, *An Indian Journalist : Being the Life, Letters & Correspondence of Dr. Sambhu C. Mookerjee, Late Editor of Reis and Rayyet*, Calcutta, 1895, p. 11.

THE PAMPHLETEER (1850)

In the first week of April 1850, came out a journal of Phrenology, the *Pamphleteer*.¹ It was under the editorial management of Baboo Kali Koomar Das, President of the Calcutta Phrenological Society, and priced eight annas a month.²

The aims and objectives of the *Pamphleteer* were thus given out³ :

“The *Pamphleteer* will entirely be devoted to literature, arts and sciences, phrenology being the most prominent subject of our attention. We will . . . communicate to our readers every variety of useful information calculated to enlighten them on topics connected with the physical wellbeing, and the moral and intellectual improvement of Society . . . we will sedulously avoid everything tending to generate ill-feelings towards the English. While exposing without fear the faults of the Government we will always deem it a duty and pleasure to praise without reserve its merits . . .”

In the editorial review of the first Number of the *Pamphleteer*, the *Bengal Harkaru* observed on April 6, 1850,—“It is creditable to the editor ; for the mere handling of such a subject at all, indicates a tendency to intellectual enquiry and exertion that is creditable . . .”

The contents for the first three Numbers were⁴ : Our Plans and Objects ; A Short History of Phrenology ; The Earth, a Living Body ; The Mysteries of Paris ; The Lex Loci ; The

1. *Bengal Harkaru*, April 6, 1850.

2. *Calcutta Christian Advocate*, April 6, 1850, p. 162.

3. *Ibid.*, extract from the *Pamphleteer*.

4. *Ibid.*, May 25, 1850, p. 242.

Phrenological Development of the Bengalis ; Brain, the Organ of the Mind ; The Prospects of the Age ; Life and Writings of Dr. Gall.

Commenting on these Numbers the *Calcutta Christian Advocate* (on 25.5.1850) editorially observed : "...we command the liberality with which he (the editor) discusses the subjects under review. There is a spirit of honesty and independence of thought...which are not often seen in the productions of his country..."

We have no definite information as to how long the *Pamphleteer* was in publication. Possibly it did not long survive after the year 1850.

THE BENGAL TIMES (1850)

In the *Morning Chronicle* on May 24, 1850, we get the following advertisement for a new paper :

"To be published on the 1st June *The Bengal Times*, A New Daily Newspaper (Sunday excepted)... Subscription per month in advance Rs. 2.8 ; per month in arrear Rs. 3.0.

"The experiment of a cheap paper has lately been tried in Calcutta with undoubted success. The projectors of the *Bengal Times* now offer a daily newspaper to the public, at a cheaper rate than has yet been attempted.

"The *Bengal Times* will consist of a sheet of Royal paper..." Accordingly the *Bengal Times* came out on June 1, 1850.¹ From the prospectus quoted in the *Friend of India* on June 6, 1850, we further get :

"Its editorial mamagement will be entrusted to gentlemen well qualified for the task...who will employ the *Bengal Times*, neither as the organ nor the tool of any party, or clique, or individual...it shall take up its stand as an independent and impartial Journal, entering on the discussion of public questions free, fearless and unfettered, uninfluenced alike by either the smiles or frowns of power, and with a regard only to the interests of Truth, Justice and Religion."

Commenting on the appearance of the *Bengal Times* the *Friend of India* wrote that as "there exists in Calcutta a large class to whom a daily paper is a great luxury, but who are unable to afford the sum charged by the larger papers, we have little doubt the *Bengal Times* will secure an extensive local circulation."

1. *Calcutta Christian Advocate*, June 8, 1850, p. 267.

The new paper could however survive only for a few months and we get the following notice of its closure in the *Friend of India* on October 17, 1850 :

"*The Bengal Times* has this day made its appearance under the name of the *Citizen*, and the management of the former Editor of the later paper. In consequence the *Citizen*, from a weekly becomes a daily."

THE CITIZEN (1850)

The Purnachandrodaya on April 24, 1850, announced the imminent appearance of a new weekly paper, the *Citizen*, under editorship of John Newmarch, at the price of rupees two per month. Accordingly it came out on June 12.¹ The first leader gave out² :

"...What course...will *The Citizen* run? ...We intend to express in plain language our honest opinion...Not to the Army, because we consider the existence of Standing Army one of the grievous crimes of the age, against whose augmentation we shall therefore strenuously contend, at the same time, however, claiming for the Soldier comfort and an opportunity of being respectable... Not to the Civilian, for we shall demand a more efficient discharge of duty upon diminished allowances—Not to the Lawyer, for we condemn the monopoly of the craft, and would throw open the Courts to all Pleaders—Not to the Clergy, for...we dislike the institution, regarding a paid priesthood as the cause of all Schism—Not to Young Bengal, for we hate fine writing and toadyism—Not lastly, and we much regret it, to the Anglo-Saxon Adventurist... Because though we love him, we are at issue with him for his own good—we mean on the question of the Blank Act—of which...we heartily approve. With respect to that Act, our Friend Anglo-Saxon has taken up a wrong position..."

Appearance of the *Citizen* was hailed by the *Bengal Harkaru* with the observation on June 13, 1850, that the editor of the *Citizen* "is a bold man...he exhibits...moral courage in publishing

1. *Calcutta Christian Advocate*, June 22, 1850, p. 290.

2. *Citizen*, June 12, 1850, extracted in *Morning Chronicle*, June 13, 1850.

a prospectus or introduction that openly states his objection to every section of society."

Shortly after this on July 20, 1850, we get in the *Calcutta Christian Advocate* : "The *Citizen*, after a brief existence of six weeks, has ceased to be. The Editor says it did not pay and this did not suit his ideas of Journalism..."

The Citizen, however, soon got a rebirth on October 14, 1850, as a daily as we get it in the *Calcutta Christian Advocate* on October 19, 1850 :

"The *Bengal Times* ceased to be on Monday, and out of its ashes arose...the *Citizen* edited by Mr. Newmarch. The daily *Citizen* bears the same impression as did the weekly journal of the same name. The Editor makes few promises, his professions, are, he says, already known..."

In February 1851, Mr. Heatley, formerly the editor of the *Eastern Star*, became the joint-editor for the *Citizen*.³ Few months after this Mr. John Newmarch had to sever his connection with the *Citizen* as we get from his letter in the *Morning Chronicle* on July 1, 1851 : "...I have this day ceased to be the Editor of the *Citizen*... I have worked gratuitously for several months...in the endeavour to give Calcutta a cheap journal but my efforts have not been seconded, as I hoped ; and I now relinquish a thankless task..."

Then, since July 8, 1851, Mr. Tellemache Heatley, the joint-editor, was vested with the sole editorial responsibility of the *Citizen*.⁴ About a year hence John Newmarch, however, came back to the editorial chair of the *Citizen*.⁵ Mr. Newmarch finally retired from the editorial charge of the *Citizen* in February 1854, and it was notified in the *Citizen* on March 1, 1854, that "his seat will in future be occupied by another gentleman of the legal profession of whose abilities there can be no question." Possibly this was Mr. Burton.⁶

In the later half of January 1855, the editorial management of the *Citizen* underwent another change as we get from the

3. *Friend of India*, February 13, 1851, p. 102.

4. *Ibid.*, July 10, 1851, p. 439.

5. *Citizen*, July 16, 1852.

6. *Hindoo Patriot*, July 31, 1856, p. 243.

following notice in the *Hindu Intelligencer* on January 22, 1855 : "Mr. Cumming, late of the 32nd Foot, has made an arrangement for the purchase of a half share in the Citizen press and that he has assumed charge of the Editorial duties of the journal of that name..." But this arrangement did not last long and next we get Mr. Gorton as editor of the *Citizen*. He became involved in a suit in the Supreme Court for writing about one Prankrissen Haldar in an editorial "as a retired convict and a confirmed cheat" and an attachment order was issued against him.⁷ Mr. Gorton was taken into custody by the Court but was released after a sharp rebuke "no higher punishment being deemed necessary as the prisoner had tendered an apology and the parties written against have suffered no injury."⁸ Immediately after this the *Citizen* was sold off to the proprietor of the *Phoenix* for Rs. 6050/- and became merged with that paper loosing its independent identity,⁹ since July 19, 1856.¹⁰

It goes to the credit of the *Citizen* that its Establishment used to be regularly closed on X-mas Day on ground of religious sentiment as we get on December 24, 1852 :

"To-morrow, according to our announcement on the first appearance of this paper, we shall keep Christmas Holiday, the third of such which the *Citizen* has claimed from his loving readers to all of whom... we wish A Merry Christmas And a Happy New Year."

It appears to be mostly at the instance of the *Citizen* that observance of Christmas Day in the world of the Anglo-Indian Press became almost general as we get from the following notice in the *Hindu Intelligencer* on December 24, 1855 :

"The Editors of the daily journals give notice that they have resolved to give their establishments a holiday on Christmas and Good Friday, and that no paper will in consequence be issued on Monday next, the 26th instant.

7. Ibid., July 3, 1856, p. 211.

8. Ibid., July 17, 1856, p. 227.

9. *Bengal Harkaru*, July 19, 1856.

10. *Friend of India*, July 24, 1856, p. 703.

(1) THE COMMERCIAL AND SHIPPING
GAZETTE (1850)
AND
(2) THE SHIPPING GAZETTE (1857)

On Monday, June 17, 1850, a new daily paper devoted exclusively to commercial interests came out.¹ This was the *Commercial and Shipping Gazette*. It was also to have a daily advertiser on a separate sheet.² Initially it had no fixed subscription and according to the editor it would entirely depend upon the support it could receive from the public. Commenting on its appearance the *Calcutta Star* wrote on June 18, 1850 :

“...the enterprise seems to be rather hazardous, yet we hope it will...meet with that encouragement from the mercantile community, which it fully deserves...”

The Friend of India on June 20, 1850, thus wrote on the 1st Number of it :

“...(It) addresses itself to one particular class, that is, to the mercantile community. It is in fact a mercantile gazette, and is intended to comprise all the information that can be needed by the merchants of Calcutta, while at the same time it will endeavour to supplant the *Exchange Gazette* as a medium of advertisements. Twelve hundred copies are daily to be circulated in Calcutta, Dum Dum, Garden Reach, Chandernagore, Barrackpore, Chinsurah and Hooghly...The paper...if written impartially and fearlessly, will be a great benefit to the town of Calcutta.”

1. *Calcutta Christian Advocate*, June 22, 1850, p. 291.

2. *Englishman*, June 13, 1850.

We have no indications as to what was the extent of financial support it received, particularly from the mercantile community. But it did not last long. The last reference we get of it is in the *Calcutta Morning Chronicle*, on Septembtr 25, 1854. It possibly went off publication shortly after this.

The extinction of the *Commercial and Shipping Gazette* paved the way for the publication of another periodical of the like nature—the *Shipping Gazette* which was started by H.E. Hunter in the last week of August 1857.³ That survived the period of our study.

3. *Hindoo Patriot*, August 27, 1857, p. 273.

THE EAST INDIA MESSENGER (1850)

In the *Calcutta Christian Advocate* on August 31, 1850, we get the notice : "We understand that another weekly paper is shortly...to adorn the political horizon of India...the *East India Messenger*...to be an organ of the East Indian Community." Accordingly came out the first Number of it in September 1850, "and to be published every Wednesday evening, at the moderate charge of Rs. 10 a year."¹

The first Number contained the following prefatorial address² :

"Our First Salutation—We this day make our first bow before the bar of the mighty majority of the Public... We are not great admirers of large professions and small doings, nor are we inclined to beg a reputation. We will earn it if we can."

The East India Messenger did not last long. We get the last mention of it in the *Friend of India* on 18 December, 1851. Possibly it went off publication with the year 1851.

1. *Friend of India*, September 19, 1850, p. 597.

2. *Calcutta Christian Advocate*, September 21, 1850, p. 446.

THE MISSIONARY (1850)

In November 1850, came out the *Missionary*, a monthly periodical, under the auspices of the Society for Propagation of the Gospel but "free from Tractarianism."¹ It was printed and published at the Bishop's College Press and was under the editorial management of one "connected with the College" (Bishop's College, Calcutta). Each Number was to contain 16 pages and the annual subscription was fixed at Rs. 3/- per annum. Subsequently number of pages increased and in the issues for 1853 pages went up as much as to 36.

The contents of the first Number were² : (1) To the Readers, (2) Bishop Berkeley and Missions, (3) A Picture of an Inquirer, (4) History of the Diocesan Committee of the Society for Propagation of the Gospel, (5) Prospectus of the proposed Mission at Delhi.

The Preface to the first Number of Volume III detailed the objectives and the editorial principles of this periodical publication :

"... We are bound by no prescribed orders of subjects, nor pledged to support any peculiar system of thought or phraseology. Our sphere lies wherever anything occurs which promises to assist in the great work of the Missionary, directly or indirectly... We write for all who are seriously desirous of serving God in the struggle now going on between light and darkness... (and) we hope that no charges of indifference or latitudinarianism on the one side, or of rigidity and scholasticism on the other, will lead us to deviate from it..."

1. *Calcutta Christian Observer*, December, 1850, p. 573.

2. *Friend of India*, November 21, 1850, p. 741.

The Missionary changed its character from a monthly to a quarterly publication in 1854 and the first Number of the Quarterly series came out in March 1854 with the Preface :

"...Its sphere is still to be as limited as it has been from the first. Its design is simply to contribute something (however little) to the great work of Christianizing this country..."

It is to be noted that the *Missionary* seldom published records and reports of the Missions by the other Societies such as the London Missionary Society, the Baptist Missionary Society, and Missions of Scottish Churches. It however covered topics concerning improvements in the native society. e.g., the "Bengal British Indian Association" and the "Bethune Society" (February 1853) and the "Hindu Metropolitan College" (December, 1854).

The Missionary did not survive for long. It ceased publication with the quarterly issue in December 1854, which contained the following notice :

"To our Readers : The Editor of the *Missionary* in thanking his friends for assisting him through another Volume feels some regret in adding, that the publication will be discontinued."

THE WEEKLY JOURNAL (1850)

On December 6, 1850, a Friday, came out the *Weekly Journal* with the following prefatorial address¹ :

"*The Weekly Journal* does not pledge itself to the advocacy of any particular line of policy, nor will it espouse the cause of any one class to the exclusion of others—its columns will be open for all. Notwithstanding the late improvements attempted in some of our public institutions it is notorious that there are abuses and corruptions still existing which require exposure and reform ; and the *Weekly Journal* will raise its still small voice, in conjunction with the loud anathemas of his brethren of the Press to cry down these abuses."

According to the *Calcutta Christian Advocate* "the spirit in which it is conduced is good and the subjects discussed...have a bearing on the welfare of the community at large."²

The Weekly Journal in its humble way created a great sensation by publishing illustrated news in its issue for January 31, 1851, as will be evident from the undernoted observation of the *Friend of India* on February 6 :

"*The Weekly Journal* of the 31st January comes out with a lithographed drawing of the four Americans who were tried for the murder at the Ice-house. The attempt to introduce illustrations into a *Calcutta Journal*, however commendable it may be, is, we fear, rather premature..."

The price for the *Weekly Journal* was fixed at the low rate of rupees twelve per annum.³

1. Extracted in the *Friend of India*, December 19, 1850, p. 805.
2. *Calcutta Christian Advocate*, January 4, 1851, p. 7.
3. *Friend of India*, December 19, 1850, p. 805.

The *Weekly Journal* was conducted by the East Indians⁴ and like all other papers by the members of that community this also did not last long. The *Weekly Journal* went off publication in October 1851.⁵

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THE WEEKLY JOURNAL (1850)

On December 6, 1850, a Friday, came out the *Weekly Journal* with the following editorial address:

"The *Weekly Journal* does not pledge itself to the advocacy of any particular line of policy; nor will it espouse the cause of any one class to the exclusion of others—its columns will be open for all. Nevertheless, the late improvements attempted in some of our public institutions, it is notorious that there are abuses and corruptions still existing which require exposure and reform; and the *Weekly Journal* will raise its small voice, in combination with the loud sentences of his creation of the Press to cry down the abuses."

According to the *Calcutta Christian Advocate*, "the paper in which it is contained is good and the subjects discussed... have a bearing on the welfare of the community at large."

The *Weekly Journal* in its humble way created a great stir, soon by publishing distorted news in its issue for January 5, 1851, as will be evident from the unprinted description of the *Friend of India* on February 6:

"The *Weekly Journal* of the 5th January comes out with a lithographed drawing of the four Assassins who were tried for the murder at the tea-house. The attempt to introduce illustrations into a *Calcutta Journal*, how very commendable it may be, it we fear, rather premature..."

The price for the *Weekly Journal* was fixed at the low rate of twelve pence per annum.

4. *Eastern Guardian* (a Madras Paper), August 31, 1851.

5. *Calcutta Christian Advocate*, October 18, 1851, p. 494.

THE BENARES MAGAZINE (1851)

The *Benares Magazine* originally came out in the N.E. Province in August 1848, and subsequently brought down to Calcutta and published there since February 1851. The preface to the first volume published in Calcutta (in 1851) gave out the following as the editorial guideline for the periodical¹ :

“...It aims at a conservancy, in religion and right mindedness of the treasure old and good which our fathers have bequeathed to us. It purports to convey really accurate and important information, on the disciplines, the institutions and the people of India and the East. Subordinate to these primary designs, it would evince a liking for, and on appreciation of, the amenities of literature. When such provision fails it must die...”

The *Benares Magazine*, as we get it printed and published in Calcutta was a 2-monthly periodical appearing in 1851 in February, April, June, August and so on till the issue in June 1852. Then it was made a biannual publication and the first Number of this Series came out in December 1852 and editor gave out in the Preface that for “the time to come he will do his utmost to prepare a half volume in a similar style.”

On coming out of the second Number of this biannual series in 1853 possibly the *Benares Magazine* went off publication. We get no further mention of it.

The contents of the issue of February 1851, the first Number published in Calcutta, were :

1. Preface to Volume V of the *Benares Magazine*, 1851.

Original :

1. Popular education in the N.W. Provinces of the Bengal Presidency.
2. M. De Tassy's History of Hindu Literature.
3. A Chain of Odd Links, 1478-1828 (biographical sketches) :
 - I. Baldessare Castiglione.
 - II. Pierre Charpentier.
 - III. Nicholas Poussin.
 - IV. Cotton Mather.
4. The Benares Sanskrit College (an appreciation of Ballantyne's system—"to instruct the Sanskrit students through the medium of what is found in their own philosophical books, and, where that fails, by casting European knowledge, as much as possible into their moulds furnished by the indigenous literature").
5. Notes on the Land Tenures in the North-Western Provinces.
6. Songs of childhood (a poem depicting memories of good old days, long past).
7. Tennyson's 'In Memorium' (Critical appreciation).
8. Tears (poem).
9. The urdu vesion of the Book of Common Prayer.

[All these covered pages 1 to 172]

Extract & Intelligence

1. A Charge Delivered in St. Paul's Cathedral, Nov. 2, 1850, by the Rt. Reverend Charles James, Lord Bishop of London.
2. Chronicle of Church Proceedings : To November 14, 1850.

[All these covered pages 173 to 201]

The subscription for the *Benares Magazine* while at Mirzapore was fixed at Rs. 16/- annually, in advance, or Rs. 1-8-0

for a single copy (in arrear). Possibly this rate also continued is Calcutta for 2-monthly Series. It was however reduced to rupees four per Number for the biannual series.

We have no precise idea of the number of subscribers for the *Benares Magazine* as a Calcutta publication. While at Mirzapore, at the beginning, we get 54 subscribers of whom only one was a native of India—Rev. K.M. Banerjea.²

In Calcutta the *Benares Magazine* was published by J. Baptist in 1851 and then by T.J. M'Arthur, at the Bishop's College Press.

2. List of Subscribers appended with the Number for February, 1849.

THE PEOPLE'S FRIEND (1851)

On February 22, 1851, the *Calcutta Christian Advocate* gave out the following notice :

"From a prospectus signed by Mr. W. Karpatrik, we learn that a New Bi-Weekly Evening Paper under the style of the *Peòple's Friend*, containing eight Royal Quarto Pages will be published by Messrs. D'Rozario and Co., No. 8 Tank Square, from the 1st proximo and will be conducted on those liberal principles, which are now propounded from the throne, and echoed from every part of the British dominion..."

Accordingly on March 1, 1851, the *People's Friend* came out.¹

In an editorial review of its first three issues the vernacular Daily, the *Sambad Purnochandrodaya*, spoke of it praisingly as being conducted on non-partisan lines.²

The *People's Friend* could not last long. The *Friend of India* on July 3, 1851, contained the information that it had already ceased publication.

1. *Bengal Harkaru*, March 3, 1851.

2. *Sambad Purnochandrodaya*, March 10, 1851.

THE MIDNAPORE AND HIDGELEE GUARDIAN (1851)

The Midnapore and Hidgelee Guardian came out in June 1851, as a bilingual (English & Bengali) monthly periodical.¹ And on July 10, 1851, the *Friend of India* wrote of it as follows :

“Midnapore—Mr. H. V. Bayley’s appointment to the Collectorate of Midnapore, seems to have infused a new life into that rather dull station, particularly with respect to educational improvement. . . . To complete these plans of enlightenment, we have before us the first number of the *Midnapore and Hidgelee Guardian*, a little . . . periodical . . . we have no information either as to its price, or object, or time of publication. . . . It contains articles on education . . . and a recipe for resuscitating a drowned person . . . We wish it every success.”

It was the second venture of an English periodical published in a mofussil town (the first one being the *Murshidabad News*). It continued for about a year.²

1. *Bangla Samayik Patra*, op. cit., p. 122.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 123.

THE OPTIMIST (1851)

On August 2, 1851, a Saturday, came out the *Optimist* as a semi-weekly journal.¹

Commenting on the first Number of the *Optimist* the *Morning Chronicle* wrote on August 4, 1851 :

"The paper is well got up, has all the current news of the day and...articles not too long or prosy, some cheerful rhymes...and a goodly show of advertisements all well arranged and type and paper unexceptionable... We bid him welcome."

The *Optimist* did survive for about 3 (three) months only and we get the following notice of its closure in the *Friend of India* on October 23, 1851 :

"The *Optimist* has announced his own approaching dissolution...in the beginning of November. We are sorry that Mr. Lang should have been compelled to relinquish his undertaking...it has always been conducted in an entertaining, fair, and gentlemanly spirit."

Mr. Lang, a Barrister and proprietor of the *Mofussilite* of the N.W. Province, was in the editorial management of the *Optimist*.²

1. *Englishman*, August 4, 1851.

2. *Citizen*, June 21, 1854.

THE QUILL (1852)

The Quill was projected by Tarachand Chukruburtee, a leader of the young Bengal.¹ Very little of it is known to us.

According to Pandit Sivanath Sastri this was commenced near about the time of publication of the dictionary by Tarachand Chukruburtee. This dictionary was published in November 1827.² But the *Quill* almost definitely did not come out then. For, in that case it must have been mentioned by Pearychand Mittra in his biographical sketch of Tarachand which appeared in the *India Review* in March 1840.³

Jogesh Chandra Bagal is of the view that the *Quill* was projected shortly after the closure of the *Bengal Spectator*.⁴ According to him the Young Bengal group had then no means for discussing politics and so the *Quill* had been started to fill up the gap. This also appears unlikely. Tarachand was closely associated with the *Bengal Spectator* which had to be given up for want of sufficient number of subscribers. It appears highly improbable that in the background of this sad experience a new venture would so soon be undertaken.

Tarachand Chukruburtee went to Burdwan, on being employed by the Raja of Burdwan, in 1846,⁵ and stayed there upto

1. Sivanath Sastri, *Ramtanu Lahiri*, op. cit., p. 154.
2. Tarachand Chukruburtee, *A Dictionary in Bengalee and English*, Calcutta, 1827.
3. Peary Chand Mittra admitted authorship of the sketch in his book *Biographical Sketch of David Hare*, Calcutta, 1877, p. 32.
4. Jogesh Chandra Bagal, *Unabingsha Satabdir Bangla*, Calcutta, 1963, p. 170.
5. Rajnarain Bose, *Atmacharit*, Calcutta, 1319 B.S., p. 54.

1850 ; he returned early in 1851.⁶ He must have brought out the *Quill* thereafter and probably in 1852. In support of this assumption we may quote the following letter to the editor of the *Citizen* in the issue of August 30, 1852.

"The Late Mr. Quill : To The Editor of the *Citizen* : Sir, Quill...the weasel of the Calcutta Press has at last been compelled to state what might have long ago been foreseen... that he will issue no more... Quill... I see has intimated his intention to sue his defaulting subscribers in the name of publishers..."

The above extract goes to indicate that the *Quill* was shortlived and had to be given up for the most commonplace of the reasons for such an incident at that time—want of subscribers and arrear subscription.

6. *Sungbad Purnochandrodaya*, February 7, 1851.

THE QUARTERLY MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCER (1852)

In March 1852, came out the *Quarterly Missionary Intelligencer*, a periodical of only 12 to 20 pages, "In connection with the *Calcutta Christian Intelligencer*."

The introductory address with the first Number detailed the aims and objectives of the periodical :

"...We shall not probably indeed observe any very fixed or uniform order in the mode of filling up its pages ; but propose to present Missionary facts and Missionary principles, Missionary motives, encouragement and prospects as well as Missionary journals, letters and plans, Missionary suggestions and Missionary experience etc. etc., in such measure, manner and order, as they may be supplied to us. They are to be chiefly in connexion with the Church of England, but not exclusively so... Nor shall we hesitate to offer suggestions, and point out...errors...though always...in a kindly and brotherly spirit..."

The contents of the first Number were :

- (a) Introduction.
- (b) The Krishnagar and Burdwan Missions.
- (c) Protestant and English Missions.
- (d) Hints on Missionary Boarding Schools.
- (e) Miscellaneous (intelligence regarding Missionaries and Mission Stations in India and outside such as in the African countries).

From an analysis of the contents of this quarterly periodical in its various issues it appears that the Missionaries who were the

contributors for its columns were opposed to the policy of conversion of the upper class Hindu youths through imparting of high standard English education in a few Missionary schools specially conducted for the purpose and filled up with such young boys. We may, for example, cite a few of these writings in which the criticism was the most trenchant : (a) *Preaching and Other Mode of Missionary Labour* (December 1852), (b) *Questions for Discussions* (September 1854), (c) *Indirect Results of Christian Missions* (September 1854), (d) *What are the Hindrances in Missions ?* (December 1854).

Possibly out of this criticism emerged a new direction for the activities of the C.M.S. Missionaries which made them to side with the rayots against the Zemindars and Indigo planters in the subsequent years.

It so appears that the *Quarterly Missionary Intelligencer* was under the same editorial management as the *Christian Intelligencer*.

The subscription rate for this quarterly publication was four annas each copy. But the regular subscribers for the *Christian Intelligencer* were to get it free.¹

Partly due to the extra expenses on account of the publication of this quarterly paper and partly for reduction in the subscription rate for the *Christian Intelligencer* from Rs. 9/- and Rs. 6/- per annum to Rs. 6/- and Rs. 4/- per annum respectively, the editors, during the period of four years from 1852 to 1855, became burdened with a debt of Rs. 700/-. Hence, in 1856, the *Quarterly Missionary Intelligencer* was given up.²

1. *Christian Intelligencer*, April 1856, unnumbered page.

2. *Ibid.*

THE EXTRACTS CONCERNING CHRISTIANITY (1852)

In July 1852, came out the Extracts Concerning Christianity—a monthly publication, printed at the Probhakur Press and published by Isser Chander Nundi, Hindu Charitable Institution, No. 121, Maniktolla Street. It aimed to act as an antidote against the Missionary preaching for Christianity as is evident from the prospectus contained with the first Number :

“The vigorous exertions of the preachers of the gospel have tended to spread widely the knowledge of the Christian religion among the natives of India ; there can hardly be found an educated Hindu that knows not something about it... By means of schools, sermons, lectures, offering handsome prizes to successful essayists and other indirect measures, they insidiously cause the youth of the country to be initiated in the doctrines of Christianity. The labours of the missionaries, it must be confessed, have been in this respect, to a certain extent, crowned with success... But when it is found that the acquaintance of the people with the subject of Christianity has grown so general and that they have got it...through no other medium than that of its advocates, it is exceedingly desirable that they should be made aware of what is said against it by eminent men born and educated in countries where the religion of Jesus is found to form the national faith. To allow them to have an insight into almost all the grand objections that can be used against the truthfulness of the Bible, and thus to preclude their tendencies...to the reception of its absurd dogmas, it is deemed advisable to issue every month a pamphlet containing extracts from certain learned authors, who have critically examined its historical testi-

monies. internal evidences, doctrines, precepts and the life of Jesus..."

The Missionary reaction to its publication may be observed in the pages of the *Calcutta Christian Observer*¹ :

"Missionary Progress : A number of educated Hindus, in despair of checking the progress of Christianity by the ordinary weapons of calumny of persecution, have resorted to the more civilised expedient of attacking its doctrines at the root. They have commenced the publication of a monthly periodical filled with extracts from infidel writers, which they are endeavouring to circulate as an antidote to the teaching of the Missionaries... The feeling of indifference almost approaching to contempt, with which Missionary effort was once regarded, has given place to that vague alarm which is the forerunner of gratifying success..."

The periodical did not come out all on a sudden. The *Englishman* reported as early as on December 11, 1851, that "some respectable people are now contemplating to set up a journal in antagonism to the propagation of Missionaries in Calcutta, as they are now doing everything in their power to prejudice the raw youths of this country against... shastars and the religion prevalent in it."

The appearance of this periodical was hailed by the native society as would be evident from the outburst of the vernacular journal, the *Provakar*. On July 22, 1852, it wrote a long editorial on this and even composed a verse to celebrate the occasion :

শুন সব মিসেনারিগণ,
কেন আর মিছে কর রণ ॥
মনেতে ভেবেছ সবে, সমরেতে জয়ি হবে,
ভোঁতা অস্ত্র করিয়া ধারণ ।
বিলাতের জ্ঞান লোক যারা,
বাইবেল নাহি মানে তারা ॥"

Translated : Hark ! You Missionaries,
All your batttles are in vain.
You bethought to win the contest,
But all your arms are blunt.

¹ *Calcutta Christian Observer*, September 1852, pp. 431-32.

For, the wise of your country
Discard the Bible as infallible.

The contents of the first six Numbers of the periodical were as follows :

July 1852 :

1. An examination of the claims of the Old Testament to be a divine, miraculous, or infallible composition (from Parker's Discourse of matters pertaining to Religion)—pp. 1-14.
2. An examination of the claims of the New Testament to be a divine, miraculous, or infallible composition (from Parker's Discourse of matters pertaining to Religion)—pp. 15-22.

August 1852 :

1. Annunciation and Birth of John the Baptist (from Strauss' Life of Jesus)—pp. 1-19.
2. Davidical Descent of Jesus according to the Genealogical Tables of Matthew and Luke (from Strauss' Life of Jesus)—pp. 20-34.

September 1852 :

1. Announcement of the Conception of Jesus—its supernatural character—visit of Mary to Elizabeth (from Strauss' Life of Jesus)—pp. 1-32.

October 1852 :

1. Announcement of the Conception of Jesus—its supernatural character—visit of Mary to Elizabeth (concluded)—pp. 1-22.
2. Birth and Earliest Events of the Life of Jesus (from Strauss' Life of Jesus)—pp. 23-31.

November 1852 :

1. Birth and Earliest Events of the Life of Jesus (concluded)—pp. 1-32.

Decembed 1852 :

1. The purely mythical explanation of the Narrative Concerning the Magi, and of the Events with which it is connected—pp. 1-32.

We do not exactly know when this periodical went off publication. No other issue could be traced.

The stated subscription for the periodical was four annas monthly or Rs. 2.8 yearly, if paid in advance. But "the Hindu public" was called upon to contribute as much as possible for this work of "national benefit."

THE EAST INDIA ARMY MAGAZINE AND MILITARY REVIEW (1852)

On September 28, 1852, there appeared in the *Citizen*, the following advertisement :

"In January 1853, will be published at Calcutta the *East India Army Magazine and Military Review*...a quarterly Service Journal for Bengal, Madras and Bombay...and the Editor pledges...to make it a medium through which the wants, the wishes, and the honorable ambitions of the services may be advocated... Subscription 12 Rupees per annum..."

Accordingly in January 1853, came out the *East India Army Magazine and Military Review*, published by R. C. Lepage and Co., British Library, Calcutta, and printed by Frank Carbery at the Bengal Military Orphan Press.

In the review of its first Number on January 20, 1853, the *Friend of India* observed that this new periodical "fills up a blank in the list of Indian publications" being entirely "devoted to the interests and affairs of the Army."

The contents were classified under three heads—(a) Original Contributions, (b) Selections, (c) Correspondences. The contents in the first Number, which had 164 pages were as follows :-

Original Contributions :

1. Prefatorial address—p. 1.
2. Notes on the Condition of the Indian Medical Service—p. 3.
3. The Report of the Commissariat Commission—p. 27.
4. Volunteering—p. 45.

5. The Furlough Regulations—p. 62.
6. The Bengal Military Fund, its financial position and future prospects—p. 77.
7. Suggestions for an Improved System of Examination in the Native Languages—p. 91.
8. On Some Proposed Methods of Protecting the Troops and Crews on Board of Steamers from the Fire of An Enemy's Musketry—p. 97.
9. Campaign Notes, 1845-46—p. 101.
10. Book Review—The Life and Death of the Duke of Wellington, with Contemporaneous Opinions of his Career, Calcutta : Thacker Spink & Co.—pp. 122-134.

Correspondences :

This section had a brief prefatorial note in which the editor declared that "these pages are open to all" and that "he must decline holding himself responsible for the opinions recorded in them." Some of these letters (of this and of the other subsequent Numbers) are of singular interest to us in the background of the imminent Sepoy Mutiny.

1. Heads of Evils Requiring Correction, by An Old Field Officer.
2. Brahmuns as Soldiers, by A Bengal Officer.

Selections :

1. The Spanish Army (from the *Military Review*, August 14, 1852)—p. 150.
2. The Russian Imperial Guard (from the *Military Review*, August 21, 1852)—p. 158.
3. The Method of Instruction in Firing and Ball Practice as established throughout the French Regiments of Light Infantry, and the Chasseurs De Vincennes, with the Degree of Instruction Corresponding to the Different Ranks (—Do—August 28, 1852)—pp. 161-164.

In January 1854, came out the fifth Number of the Magazine¹ and possibly after that it went off publication. We do not get any further mention of it.

1. *Friend of India*, January 12, 1854, p. 28.

THE HINDOO PATRIOT (1853)

On January 6, 1853, Thursday, came out the *Hindoo Patriot*, a weekly newspaper.¹ Its prospectus ran thus² :

"A few disinterested... individuals, were for sometime past thinking of establishing a weekly newspaper in English, having for its object a fair and manly advocacy of the interests of their country and an impartial exposition of the social and political evils with which she is now afflicted... The discussion connected with the East India Company's Charter, which have already commenced, must command an all-absorbing interest in the hearts of all true friends of India. An organ of the people, conducted by natives, on catholic and enlightened principles, must then be greatly needed, and without presuming to set up as the only organ of the hundred millions whose destinies are bound up with the welfare of this land, the *Hindoo Patriot* may be allowed to take its stand as a Champion, however insignificant, of the neglected rights of the country and a zealous and unflinching advocate for constitutional reform..."

In course of an editorial review of the first Number, the *Hindu Intelligencer* wrote on January 17, 1853 :

"...The *Hindoo Patriot*... appears to be conducted with the assistance of those who wrote for the defunct *Bengal Recorder*... Application for it are to be made to the proprietor, Madhusudan Roy. We welcome its advent with feelings of unmixed delight..."

The first available issue of the *Hindoo Patriot* dates April 6,

1. *Hindoo Intelligencer*, January 17, 1853.

2. Extracted in the *Citizen*, January 14, 1853.

1854, and in it we are told that the proprietor Modhoosudan Roy was also its printer and publisher at the Hindoo Patriot Press, 136, Radha Bazar Street, which according to a notice printed in the issue of May 4, 1854, was shifted to Dupponarain (sic) Tagore Street. The press was subsequently again shifted to 60, Cossitollah Street (August 3, 1854).

From the following notice in the *Hindoo Patriot* (on June 7, 1855), we learn of the change of hands which occurred in June 1855 :

"The interest and responsibility of Baboo Mudhoo Soodun (sic) Roy of Calcutta, as Proprietor and Manager of the *Hindoo Patriot* Newspaper, were transferred on the 1st instant to Baboo Harran Chunder Mookerjea of Bhowanypore (sic) . . . The Paper will now be printed at and issued from the Bhowanypore Suttio-Gyan-Suncharini Press . . . the late Proprietor . . . bore the pecuniary sacrifices incurred in the carrying on of the journal during the first two years of its existence, and which sacrifices fell to his share alone . . . Baboo Moddoosoodun (sic) Roy has been compelled by the urgency of private affairs to sever his connection with this journal. . ."

Within a short time the *Hindoo Patriot* Press was set up by the purchasers at Bhowanipore the printer being Shama Churan Sircar and publisher Ramloll Chatterjee and this arrangement continued till the end of August, 1856 when Wooma Churn Dey became both the printer and the publisher.

In subsequent years different versions appeared as to the connection of Hurish Chunder Mookerjee vis-a-vis Grish Chunder Ghose, with the *Hindoo Patriot*. In the obituary notice of Hurish Chunder Mookerjee, the *Hindoo Patriot* wrote on June 19, 1861 :

" . . . Just at the time the discussions preceeding the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company began the *Bengal Recorder* was given up and with its subscribers for the nucleus the *Hindoo Patriot* was established on its ashes. The staff of the *Recorder* including Hurris (sic) conducted the new paper. As a pecuniary speculation the *Patriot* was a failure. The first proprietor therefore after sustaining a loss of a few thousand rupees at the end of three years offered it for sale. No purchaser appearing, the paper was determined to be abolished

and the press and the materials sold. Hurris who by economy had made a little money, rather than see the paper perish, at once resolved to invest it in a speculation which had proved a failure... In June 1855, he bought the *Patriot* in the name of his brother... and removed the press and office to Bhowani-pore near his house..."

In the obituary notice of Grish Chunder Ghose (from the pen of Krishto Das Pal)³ in the *Hindoo Patriot* on September 27, 1869 it has been said :

"...About the time, the well known Charter campaign was meditated by the leaders of native society, an enterprising native gentleman of the banker caste, Baboo Madhusudun Roy, conceived the idea of starting the *Hindoo Patriot*. He was acquainted with the Ghose brothers and invited them to undertake its editorial management. They readily consented, but they or rather Grish Chunder recommended him to Babu Hurris Chunder Mookerjee. We have the authority of this gentleman (Baboo Madhusudun Roy) for stating that it was Hurris Chunder who gave to the paper the name "*Hindoo Patriot*" so dear to us and was elected its first responsible editor... and Grish Chunder who watched with interest and admiration the rapid development of his friend's intellect cheerfully served under him..."

Mr. M.N. Ghosh however contradicts the above account on the strength of what he calls, a piece of personal information collected from Madhu Sudan Roy during the latter's hoary old age⁴ :

"We...had the honour of knowing personally Babu Madhu Sudan Roy who died in green old age only a few years ago, and on our questioning him...how he could have made the statement ascribed to him when he knew very well that Hurris joined the staff of the *Hindoo Patriot* sometime after it had been brought into the field, he at once repudiated the statement... Grish Chunder was undoubtedly its first editor."

Obituaries of Grish Chunder Ghosh appearing in the *Bengalee*, the *Indian Mirror* and the *Reflector* touched upon the question

3. Manmatha, Nath Ghosh, *Grish Chunder Ghosh*, op. cit., p. 80.

4. Ibid., p. 81.

of relationship of both Grish Chunder Ghosh and Hurish Chunder Mookerjee with the *Hindoo Patriot*.

The *Bengalee* wrote (on September 25, 1869) :

"... Baboo Grish Chunder on his own account started a new paper and christened it the *Hindoo Patriot*. For a series of years he conducted it in a most able and independent manner, when the late Baboo Hurrish Chunder Mookerjee came to his aid as a Lieutenant. The genius of Hurrish soon proved him to be a worthy compeer when Baboo Grish Chunder conferred on him the Captainship of his own accord, contenting himself with occasional displays of wit and strength of mind..."

The *Indian Mirror* wrote⁵ : "... He it was (Grish) who first started the *Hindoo Patriot*..."

The *Reflector* wrote⁶ :

"... He (Grish) projected and brought into light the *Hindoo Patriot*... Having reared and nurtured his dear little bantling, with the tenderest paternal care and solicitude, during the first few years of its existence, he made it over to his excellent friend and colaborer, the illustrious Baboo Hurrish Chunder Mookerjee..."

Finally, the *Reis and Rayyet* in its issue of March 14, 1903 wrote⁷ :

"In 1853, one Madu Sudan Roy of Barrabazar, having, by accident, come into possession of a printing press and some types... proposed to the Ghoses to start a newspaper in English... It was of an evening in January 1853, in Khetter's baitakkhana (brother of Grish Chunder Ghosh and Sreenath Ghosh), the three brothers being present, that the '*Hindoo Patriot*' may be said to have been conceived... It might seem that the name '*Hindoo Patriot*' might have been taken as indicative of a particular and bold policy of opposition to Government and Europeans and of vindication of native usages and ideas. Nothing of the kind. As usual, the name arose by accident. Grish suggested '*The Hindoo Standard*', Sreenath pro-

5. *Indian Mirror*, extracted in the *Bengalee*, October 2, 1869, p. 318.

6. *Reflector* extracted in the *Bengalee*, October 9, 1869, p. 326.

7. Manmatha Nath Ghosh, *Grish Chunder Ghose*, op cit., p. 80.

posed '*The Hindoo Gentleman*'. A bright idea struck Khetter. He said, why not call it '*The Hindoo Patriot*' and, as that name appeared appropriate, it was adopted by acclamation."

On the point of purchase of the *Hindoo Patriot* by Hurish Chunder Mookerjee in the name of his brother we get the following explanation from F.H. Skrine⁸ :

"The transaction was veiled in secrecy, for his master, the Military Auditor General, would hardly have approved of a proprietor-editor of a journal as one of his subordinates. The 'man of straw' put forward was an elder brother, Baboo Haran Chunder Mukherji; but the entire labour of editing and management fell on Hurish."

Out of these conflicting claims possibly we may come to the tentative conclusion that during the first year Grish Chunder Ghosh was in charge of the editorial management of the *Hindoo Patriot*. For, it would not be reasonable to hold that Grish Chaunder Ghosh who had journalistic ambition and also experience (as the editor of the *Bengal Recorder*) would give up the chance for gratification of his own ambition i.e. being offered the editorial charge of the paper by Baboo Madhusudan Roy would decline the same in favour of his friend Hurish Chunder Mookerjee. It is also not probable that even after his purchase of the paper and the press Hurish Chunder would deny himself of editorial privileges. What appears probable and practical is that from the time of his purchase Hurish himself became the editor of the paper. The confusion of the later days is possible due to the fact that Hurish Chunder had to keep his association with the *Hindoo Patriot* a closely guarded secret in the interest of his own service under the Military Auditor General.

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The *Hindoo Patriot* and Hurish Chunder Mookerjee were destined to play a historic role against the tyranny of the Indigo planters in the post-Mutiny period. During our period we get analysis of the genesis of this problem in the columns of the *Hindoo Patriot*. We may particularly refer to two issues in this connection—those of May 15, and August 7, 1856.

8. F.H. Skrine, *An Indian Journalist*, op. cit., p. 21.

Social questions which were then mostly agitating the Hindoo society were the female education, and Hindoo widow remarriage. The *Hindoo Patriot* deliberated on both. Regarding female education, after analysing the factors and the sentiments involved, the *Hindoo patriot* thought it best to advise everyone to follow the lead given by Bethune.⁹ On the question of the Hindoo widow remarriage it sided with the reformists and expressed the opinion that the time was ripe for a legislation to legalise the remarriage of the Hindoo widows. Thus it wrote in its editorial on February 22, 1855 :

"We believe there are few at the head of Hindoo families who do not sincerely wish those restrictions did not exist. . . . A rigid conservation alone prevents men from speaking out on the subject or acting as freely as they think. . . ."

The *Hindoo Patriot* was however opposed to divorce and thus when a Hindoo writer wrote in the *Englishman* that "a law of divorce is the logical sequence of the law authorising the marriage of widows"¹⁰ it wrote (on May 28, 1857) :

"Marriage among Hindoos is essentially a religious Institution. The bond is one for this life and eternity. To convert it into a mere contract would jar with the feelings of our countrymen as well as the whole philosophy of Hindoo life."

The *Hindoo Patriot* pinned high hopes on the liberalism of the British public and Parliament. According to her the evils in the Indian administration were due to the exercise of power by the East India Company, constitutionally a hybrid—half emperor, half tradesman. Advice of the *Hindoo Patriot* was that the Indians should look over the shoulder of the Governor General to the British public and Parliament for redress and reform.¹¹ It preached that the wrongs in the Indian administration were possible because "the cry of the injured is smothered in the din of the roaring water that separate him from the land of liberty."¹²

The *Hindoo Patriot* regarded British rule in India not as im-

9. *Hindoo Patriot*, August 28, 1856, p. 277.

10. *Englishman* quoted in the *Hindoo Patriot*, May 28, 1857, p. 170.

11. *Hindoo Patriot*, June 22, 1854, p. 194.

12. *Ibid.*, May 18, 1854, p. 154.

perialism but something really noble. A lengthy editorial (on October 11, 1855) would be found revealing in this respect :

"...Modern colonisation has hitherto eventuated only in murderous conflicts of races, and the final destruction of the race with the weaker principle of life in it. Missionaryism has been attempted on one or two occasions, but without any marked or considerable success...It is in British India alone that the spectacle is to be found of a foreign nation acting in the spirit of missionaryism alone and educating another in a civilisation entirely new and in many respects adverse to that of the people under tuition..."

By Act XV of 1857, during the days of the Sepoy Mutiny, Government imposed restrictions on the freedom of the press through licence and the *Hindu Intelligencer* in protest went off publication. But the *Hindoo Patriot* made no particular grievance of it as the following editorial comment (on June 18, 1857) would show :

"The liberty of the press has been suspended for a year. We believe it incurs no danger. To be held in terrorem over newspapers, it will simply make them a little cautious in publishing statements of an alarming or a seditious kind... The law is not likely to be administered except in a liberal spirit, and will certainly not be condemned in England..."

As to the role of the *Hindoo Patriot* during the days of Mutiny we get from Ram Gopal Sanyal that it "appeared in the strange character of a champion of British Rule and a supporter of the administration."

We are further informed by the same authority¹³—

"It is said, that all throughout that fearful struggle, Lord Canning used to send Home, by every mail, copies of the *Patriot*, which were highly spoken of by Lord Granville in a Parliamentary debate on the subject of the British Policy in the East."

* * *

The *Hindoo Patriot* had eight pages (each with three columns) during our period and a considerable portion of this was taken

13. Ram Gopal Sanyal, Kristo Das Pal, op. cit., p. 9.

up with correspondence i.e., letters to the editor. These are often interesting as reflections of the mind of the educated middle class natives of the period.

An item missing in the *Hindoo Patriot* (which was almost a must for the contemporary papers and periodicals) was Poetry. In a "Notice to the Correspondents" in the issue of March 26, 1857, the editor specifically asserted, "we do not insert poetry in this paper."

Under the heading 'Acknowledgement' the proprietor of the *Hindoo Patriot* used to acknowledge receipt of subscription for the paper. From these 'Acknowledgements' we can compile almost a complete list of its subscribers for the last three years of our period—1855, 1856 and 1857. The list is by no means edifying—the total number of subscribers being only 26, 30 and 36 respectively during these three years. There might be some more who used to buy single issues but the 'Acknowledgement' does not mention them. Even if such a body of daily purchasers existed their number must have been very limited considering the very high price of single copies, viz.—eight annas each.

In the circumstance it would be natural to apprehend the *Hindoo Patriot* to run at a loss. We learn from the issue of June 19, 1861, in course of a obituary notice for Hurish Chunder Mookerjee, that "upto the later end of 1857 (since its purchase) he (Hurish Chunder Mukherjee) had suffered on account of the *Hindoo Patriot* a monthly loss of from Rs. 100 at the beginning to a small sum at the end."

From this subscription list it comes out that the *Hindu Intelligencer* enjoyed in a greater measure the patronage of the elites of the native society than the *Patriot*, such as Baboo Hurrocomar Tagore, Baboo Gokul Kristo Mitter, Rajah of Burdwan, Baboo Jaykissen Mukerjee, Rajah Suttochurn Ghosal, Baboo Debendra Nath Tagore and Baboo Russickrishna Mullick (subscription acknowledged in the columns of the *Hindu Intelligencer* in 1849 and 1850).

The *Hindoo Patriot* was not subscribed for, as it appears from subscription list, even by those who formed the Association of Friends for the Social Improvement of Bengal (the Association formed in 1854 with Debendra Nath Tagore as President, Kisor Ch. Mitter as Secretary, Hemendra Ch. Chowdhury as

Assistant Secretary with Rajendra Lal Mitter, Sib Chandra Deb, Digumber Mitter, Hurish Chunder Mookerjee, Jabab Ch. Mookerjee, Gour Dass Baysack and Sambhu Ch. Sen as Committee members).¹⁴ The reason may be that the association of Hurish Chunder Mookerjee with the *Hindoo Patriot* was kept a complete secret. How completely this secret was guarded would be evident from the fact that in his examination before the Indigo Commission on July 30, 1860, Hurish Chunder Mookerjee denied proprietorship and editorship over the *Hindoo Patriot*.¹⁵

The subscription rate for the *Hindoo Patriot* was originally fixed at rupee one per month or rupees two per quarter, payable in advance. After a number of alteration it was finally fixed at rupees ten per year in advance or rupee one per mensem and single copy eight annas.

Subscription list for the *Hindoo Patriot* for the three years of 1855, 1856 and 1857 had the following names :

1855

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Baboo Ram Chunder Bose | 13. Baboo Khettur Chunder Bose |
| 2. Baboo Issur Chunder Ghosal | 14. A. Sconeas Esqr. |
| 3. Nowrojee Furdojee Esq. | 15. Baboo Ram Sunkar Sain |
| 4. Baboo Barun Chunder Bhattacharjee | 16. „ Woomes Chunder Dutt |
| 5. Baboo Tareenee Churn Sain | 17. „ Shib Chunder Shome |
| 6. Baboo Nemy Churn Neogy | 18. „ Rao Ramchunder Rao Bhow |
| 7. Valoor Devaraz Pillay | 19. „ Kessabchunder Acarjee |
| 8. Baboo Wooma Churn Set | 20. Pundit Dhurn Narain Esq. |
| 9. Baboo Sreeputee Mookerjee | 21. A Shasiah Esqr. |
| 10. Baboo Gobind Ch. Bose | 22. Secretary, Jessore Public Library |
| 11. Baboo Brojoo Coomer Mullick | 23. Baboo Kasissur Mittra |
| 12. Secretary to Bombay Association | 24. Mr. G. Rayner |
| | 25. Baboo Judoonauth Roy |
| | 26. Tarachand Banerjee |

14. *Hindu Intelligencer*, February 16, 1857.

15. Indigo Commission's Report, p. 45.

1856

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Evans Bell | 15. Lt. Col. M.E. Loftie |
| 2. Roy Omeid Singh Bahadur | 16. Baboo Doorgadoss Kur |
| 3. Baboo Ashootus Deb | 17. Dinapore Reading Club |
| 4. Jessore Public Library | 18. Baboo Wooma Churn Sett |
| 5. Baboo Gobindchunder Bose | 19. „ Ram Churn Bose |
| 6. A.V. Chab, Chittagong | 20. „ Tariny Churn Sen |
| 7. Baboo Shib Chunder Shome | 21. „ Deno Nauth Banerjea |
| 8. Maharaj Trukojee Rao Holkar Bahadoor. | 22. R.C. Baikes, Esqr. |
| 9. M. G. Rayner | 23. Baboo Madhub Chunder Sircar. |
| 10. Baboo Cally Churn Ghose | 24. „ Mahadeb Mitter |
| 11. A. Shashia Esqr. | 25. Maulvie Abdool Luteef |
| 12. M. Venkata Chattew | 26. Baboo Juggodishnauth Roy |
| 13. Baboo Khetturchunder Bose | 27. „ Tara Chand Banerjee |
| 14. Baboo Woomesh Chunder Dutt | 28. „ Gopal Chunder Banerjee |
| | 29. „ Bhoyrub Chunder Chatterjee. |
| | 30. „ Ram Chunder Bose. |

1857 :

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| 1. Baboo Shib Chunder Shome | 12. „ Gobind Chunder Bose |
| 2. „ Madhub Chunder Sircar | 13. „ Shibpersaud Sanyal |
| 3. Dadhabho Pandoorung | 14. „ Radha Churn Gangooly |
| 4. Secretary, Vernacular Library, Soory. | 15. Camp. E. Bell. |
| 5. Sub. Asst. Surgeon, Dumrao Tewaree | 16. A. Shasiah Esqr. |
| 6. Baboo Bhyrub Chunder Chatterjee. | 17. Dinajpore Reading Club |
| 7. Baboo Ram Chunder Bose | 18. Baboo Madhub Chunder Burroa |
| 8. „ Bromonath Sen. | 19. „ Juddoonath Roy |
| 9. Baboo Poornoo Chunder Chatterjee | 20. „ Shamapersaud Sanyal |
| 10. „ Luckynarain Mitter. | 21. „ Nemychurn Mozoomdar |
| 11. „ Deenobundhoo Mullick. | 22. „ Doorganarain Banerjee |
| | 23. „ Issur Chunder Mookerjee |

1855 (contd)

- | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 24. „ Hurrish Chunder | 30. „ Shama Churn Chatter- |
| Banerjee | jee |
| 25. „ Kylas Chunder Dey | 31. Atmaram Pandurang Esqr. |
| 26. „ Rajkissen Mookerjee | 32. Baboo Sudderam Doss |
| 27. „ Obhoy Churn Mullik | 33. Lt. J.S. Marshall. |
| 28. „ Madhub Chunder | 34. Baboo Ashootush Deb |
| Mietra | 35. Baboo Jogodishnauth Roy |
| 29. „ Panchanun Bose | 36. „ Kally Churn Ghosh, |

THE LITERARY STAR (1853)

The *Literary Star* appeared as a weekly periodical on May 7, 1853, Saturday,¹ as a "periodical especially devoted to the amusement of the fairer portion of the European Community."² It was to give the latest fashions, and specimens of crochet designs, besides enigmas, charades etc. It professed also to have an objective higher than all these and intended to be "the receptacle of all that is good and beautiful and true, in the wide range of Science, Literature, and the Arts...and anything that may touch on the duties, and pleasures of a woman's nearest sphere of influence and dearest centre of happiness."³ From the *Bengal Catholic Herald* we come to know that the *Literary Star* was under editorial management of a lady.⁴

The *Literary Star* had a hearty welcome both by the native and English periodicals. Thus, for example, the *Hindu Intelligencer* wrote of it (May 16, 1853) as "quite an interesting novelty amongst of us." And on May 10, 1853, the *Citizen* observed : "...the undertaking may justly be regarded as a new era in our Indian Literature. For, we do not remember that a similar attempt was before made to supply the reading wants of the ladies... The publication will at any rate be a fit companion for

1. *Citizen*, May 10, 1853 ; previously, for year it was an appendage to the weekly *Eastern Star*, forming its concluding pages, four in number, (vide advertisement in the *Calcutta Star*, January 2, 1850) and distributed gratis to all the subscribers of the *Morning Chronicle* also (vide *Literary Star*, July 9, 1851).
2. Prospectus of the *Literary Star* quoted in the *Hindu Intelligencer*, May 16, 1853.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Bengal Catholic Herald*, May 21, 1853 ; Summary of Intelligence.

the drawing rooms and will possibly give better occupation to ladies than idle gossip and tea table scandal. . . ."

Unfortunately Calcutta was not yet ripe for the experiment of an exclusively ladies' periodical and the *Literary Star* had to be given up shortly. We get it in the *Hindoo Patriot* on July 6, 1854 : "The *Literary Star* of last Saturday (July 1, 1854) . . . announced its discontinuance for want of adequate support."

THE INDIAN ANNALS OF MEDICAL
SCIENCE (1853)
OR
HALF YEARLY JOURNAL OF MEDICAL AND
SURGERY

In October 1853, came out the *Indian Annals of Medical Science or Half Yearly Journal of Practical Medicine and Surgery*, printed at the Military Orphan Press, with subscription fixed at rupees ten per annum.

In the prefatorial address with the issue of October 1855, we get details of the aims and objectives of the periodical and also the editorial guidelines. Thus it runs :

"This Journal was established in 1853 and six numbers have now been published. Each contains 350 to 450 pages of letter press. The Editors are desirous that the *Annals* should constitute a medium of free professional communication, and thus promote the advancement of Practical Medicine and form a record of its current progress in the East. Controversies of a personal and ephemeral character, and all matters coming under the head of Medical Politics are excluded from the pages of the *Annals*, but this exclusion does not apply to the temperate discussion of opposite views of Theory and Practice.

"The inquiries which the Editors have in view and which were so long and ably carried out by the Medical and Physical Society of Bengal and which at present engage the attention of the Sister Society at Bombay :

"1. The Meteorology and Medical Topography of the

various districts of India, and the peculiarities of the inhabitants of each with reference to their physical character.

"2. The Diseases of the country, as they affect both Europeans and Natives, with their treatment, adhering closely to ascertained facts and deriving these, if possible, from local and personal experience.

"3. The diseases peculiar to Natives and mode of treatment followed by Native practitioners together with the received opinions as to their nature and causes.

"4. The Meteria Medica of Hindoostan, whether animal, vegetable or mineral productions of the country or artificial compounds employed in Native practice, with their Chemical Analysis.

"5. The History of Medical Science, in general in the East, both in its past and present condition.

"6. Accounts of diseases affecting the lower animals, as the Horse, Camel and others, more particularly valuable for their services for men.

"7. Collection of Medical and Vital Statistics with special reference to ratios of mortality and birth in different races.

"In addition to the above the Editors wish to draw special attention to the History of Epidemic and Endemic diseases : Sanitary improvements comprehending the important subject of Preventive Medicine, the means of ameliorating the injurious influences of Tropical heat on the European constitution, and the whole question of the influence of change of climate on disease."

The contents of the first Number of the *Indian Annals of Medical Science* (the original communications) were as follows :

- (I) Dysentry considered in Pathologico-Anatomical and Practical Point of view by Dr. P. Bleeker, pp. 1-31.
- (II) Return of the Principal Operations on the Eye, performed during the year 1848, 1849, 1850 and 1851 in the Calcutta Eye Infirmary by Surgeon W. Martin, Supdt., Calcutta Eye Infirmary, pp. 32-57.
- (III) Notes on the Treatment of Tetanus—by John Jackson, Esqr., M.B., B.M.S., pp. 58-92.

- (IV) Medical Notes on the Burmese by Edward John Waring, Esqr., Madras Medical Service, pp. 83-109.
- (V) Notes on Cholera by John Macpherson, M.D., pp. 110-129.
- (VI) Practical Memoranda on Fever, as observed in some parts of Afghanistan in 1839, 1840, 1841 and 1842 and at Ferozapore in 1844 and 1845 by Dr. Rae, pp. 103-139.
- (VII) Treatment of Fever with Large Dose of Quinine—presented by the Medical Board, pp. 140-143.
- (VIII) Annual Report of the Madras Lying-in-Hospital, 1st January to 31st December, 1852, pp. 144-157.
- (IX) Removal of the Osseous Tumor with part of the Ethmoid and Upper Maxilla by Allan Webb, Esqr., M.D., Prof. of Clinical Surgery, Medical College, Calcutta (with coloured illustration), pp. 158-184.
- (X) Case of Amputation of Hip Joint by J. Prayer, M.D., Asst. Surgeon, Field Hospital, Rangoon, pp. 165-178.
- (XI) Statistical Notes on Small Pox, Vaccination and Inoculation in India by J. R. Bedford, Bengal Medical Staff, pp. 179-241.
- (XII) Dispensaries in Bengal by K. Mackinon, M.D., B.M.S., pp. 242-247.
- (XIII) Observations on the Epidemic Fever with Scarlet Erruption, prevalent in Calcutta in the hot and rainy seasons of 1853 by Edward Goodeve, M.D., Asst. Surgeon and Prop. of Meteria Medica, etc., Medical College, Calcutta, pp. 243-268.
- (XIV) A Case of Chronic Disease of Kidney by S.G. Chuckerbutty, M.D., M.R.C.S., Asst. Physician, Medical College Hospital, Calcutta, pp. 269-283.
- (XV) A New Remedy for Tape Worm by C. Mackinon, Surgeon, Horse Artillery, pp. 284-286.
- (XVI) Extract from the Annual Report of the Sick of the Third Light Dragoons by James Handerson, M.D., Surgeon, pp. 287-288.

- (XVII) Cases of Aneurism of the Left Axillary Artery, Ligation of Sub-clavian ; and of the Lodgement of a Musket Ball in the Heart by William White, Asst. Surgeon, Field Hospital, Amherst, pp. 289-295. o
- (XVIII) Remarks on the Operations for the relief of Congenital Imperforation of the Rectum by Norman Chevers, M.D.. B.M.S., pp. 296-310.
- (XIX) Remarks on Hill Diarrhoea and Dysentery by Alexander Grant, B.M.S., pp. 311-348.

The *Annals* had in its contents articles from native medical men such as one in the issue of April 1855, (Remarks on the Epidemic Diseases in the Diegah Pentinentiary during 1952-53 by Baboo N. M. Dutt, Sub-Asst. Surgeon).

The editorial management of the *Annals* rested jointly with three editors one of whom in the earlier years was Mr. J.R. Bedford, Bengal Medical Staff.¹

This periodical survived beyond the period of our study.

1. Prefatorial address to issue No. VII, October 1856.

THE EVENING MAIL (1854)

An advertisement appeared in the *Citizen* on November 14, 1853, from Rev. Dr. G.W. Marriot, D.D., the dismissed Chaplain on the Bengal Establishment, that he would bring out a daily paper—the *Evening Mail*, from the 2nd January 1854. Accordingly it came out, “an undersized little paper.”¹ But the very proposal for appearance of “one in Holy Orders” in the office of editor of a newspaper was denounced by many of the contemporary papers like the *Bengal Catholic Herald* (November 26, 1853), the *Friend of India* (November 17, 1853) and the *Citizen* (January 4, 1854)—a marked difference since the time of Rev. Dr. Bryce, Company’s Chaplain, who could act as the managing-editor of the *Asiatic Mirror* and then as the editor of the *John Bull*.

The *Evening Mail* expired within six months of its appearance as we get in July 6, 1854, in the *Hindoo Patriot* that “*Evening Mail*. . . has ceased to be. It departed this life without announcing its own exit.”

1. *Citizen*, January 4, 1854.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL INTELLIGENCER (1854)

In the *Citizen* on November 14, 1853, appeared an advertisement from Rev. Dr. G.W. Marriot, D.D., the dismissed Chaplain on the Bengal Establishment, notifying his intention to publish two papers, under his own editorship—a secular daily, the *Evening Mail*, and a religious weekly, the *Ecclesiastical Intelligencer*.

Regarding the *Ecclesiastical Intelligencer* the advertisement ran : “This will contain all the procurable News relative to the Church in every part of the world. I shall not consider it consistent with the spirit of Christianity and the Doctrine of the Gospel to anathematize, on the one hand, Roman Catholics and their Priesthood . . . on the other, argue against Baptismal Regeneration as anti-Scriptural . . .” Subscription was fixed at the low rate of two rupees per month.

Accordingly the *Ecclesiastical Intelligencer* came out and the *Friend of India* in a review of the first Number observed on January 5, 1854, that this new weekly was being conducted “on high Church principles.”

The *Ecclesiastical Intelligencer* did not possibly last long and we get no subsequent mention of it in the contemporary papers.

THE SMALL CAUSE COURT CHRONICLE (1854)

On January 28, 1854, came out the *Small Cause Court Chronicle*¹ to be published every Saturday, at a monthly subscription of rupee one.² The object of this weekly periodical was to give the public a "Summary of all matters connected with the Court which may have any relation to public interests, and also to add reports of such leading cases as from to time may serve to illustrate the practice, after the manner of the County Chronicle in England."³ It appears to be a joint venture of one Mr. Macan, an Englishman associated with the Small Causes Court, and a native, Baboo Govind Chunder Dey, who jointly exercised the editorial control.⁴ Messrs. N. Robertson and Co. were the publishers.⁵

It so appears that like its predecessors in the line—the *Legal Observer* and the *India Jurist*,—the *Chronicle* also could not survive for long. For, we get the last mention of it in the *Friend of India*, June 1, 1854. Possibly it went off publication shortly after that.

1. *Hindu Intelligencer*, February 20, 1854.
2. *Friend of India*, May 18, 1854, p. 318.
3. *Small Cause Court Chronicle* quoted in the *Hindu Intelligencer*, February 20, 1854.
4. *Sumbad Bhaskar*, January 31, 1854.
5. *Friend of India*, May 25, 1854, p. 330.

THE INDIAN STANDARD (1854)

In February 1854, came out the *Indian Standard*—a weekly periodical,¹ advocating the interests of the East Indians.²

This new periodical did not last long. We get the last mention of it in the *Citizen*, June 16, 1854, which announced the change of editorship of the *Indian Standard*. Possibly it went off publication shortly after that and we get no subsequent mention of it in the contemporary periodicals. At this time another newspaper with the identical title of the *Indian Standard* was also published from Delhi which in spite of many difficulties went on for a longer period, first under editorial management of Mr. Heatly and then of Mr. T.E. Hallett,³ both once associated with the Calcutta Press.

1. *Citizen*, February 24, 1854.

2. *Bengal Harkaru*, extracted in the *Hindu Intelligencer*, February 20, 1854.

3. *Morning Chronicle*, March 23 and June 11, 1855.

THE FOUR ANNA MAGAZINE (1855)
OR
A JOURNAL OF HISTORY, POLITICS,
LITERATURE AND SCIENCE

This monthly periodical came out in January 1855, presumably under the editorial management of the proprietor, Baboo G.N. Bose, 15, Lokenath Bose's Lane, Entally.

The contents of the first Number (containing sixteen pages) were :

A. *Essays* :

On the Building or Foundation of Rome.
The Silk Worm.

B. *Poems* :

The Season—by H. L. D.
The Sailor's Home—by XYZ.

C. Gossip of the Monthly News (a digest of intelligence for the month).

D. Orders by the Lt. Governor of Bengal : Appointments (orders of appointment and posting of native officials of rank, e.g. of Baboo Govind Chunder Bose, a Dy. Magistrate, to have charge of the Sub Division of Kalarooa).

The Four Anna Magazine was meant both for grown up gentlemen and school boys. The rate of monthly subscription for gentlemen was four annas per month while the rate for the boys was only two annas per mensem. Thus the first Cover Page contained the following notice : "The School Boys are requested to pay their Bills monthly."

The Four Anna Magazine did not probably survive for long and we get no further mention of it.

THE INDIAN FREEMASON'S FRIEND (1855)

In January 1855, came out the *Indian Freemason's Friend*—a monthly periodical, printed by P. Carbery at the Military Orphan Press, “the sole medium in India for the inter-change of Masonic information and sentiment.” In the ‘Advertisement’ the aims and objectives of the periodical were thus given out :

“There being no public medium for the circulation of Masonic opinion and information in any part of India, certain Members of the Fraternity have proposed to themselves the experiment of publishing a work... which shall contain, not merely articles such as may be found in any English or American Masonic Periodical, but articles possessing a particular interest for the Indian Freemason, besides Masonic news from various parts of the country, and summaries of Masonic intelligence from the rest of the globe. With these (following the example of the *London Freemason's Quarterly Magazine*) will be intermixed remarks and sketches of a purely literary character, fragments of travels in India, critical notices of new books... It must be a source of regret to many, that the Fraternity throughout this vast country should have no organ of opinion among themselves ; for the different Lodges which are scattered from Peshawar to Calcutta, as well as on the Tenasserim Coast, in Rangoon, in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, and even in the Straits Settlements...”

The subscription was fixed at rupees sixteen per annum, payable in advance.

We have no idea of the number of subscribers for this periodical. But from the following notice with the issue for January

1856, we may guess that it became popular, at least among the members of the fraternity :

“...We feel ourselves now more secure in our seat, and have therefore reduced the annual subscription by Rupees 4, after paying out of the surplus funds of last year, a donation to the Fund of Benevolence, of Rupees 100 ...”

The contents of the first Number of the periodical were :

1. Editor's Letter.
2. Freemasons at the Mauritius.
3. The Snow Range.
4. Lukewarmness in Masonry.
5. Pickings from my Pocket Book.
6. Freemasonry in England.
7. Lodge 'Kilwinning' in the East.
8. Our Chitchat (editorial).
9. Our Diggings.

Some other interesting contributions in the subsequent Numbers were :

1. Masonic Extracts ; October 1855, (containing a list of Grand Masters in England during 597 A.D. to 1844 A.D.).
2. Exclusion of Women from Freemasonry ; January 1856.
3. Hindoo Freemasonry ; September 1856.
4. Signs and Symbols ; October 1857.

The *Indian Freemason's Friend* survived beyond the period of our study.²

2. *Friend of India*, July 8, 1858, p. 630.

THE CALCUTTA MONTHLY MAGAZINE (1855)

In July 1855, came out the prospectus of a new monthly periodical—the *Calcutta Monthly Magazine*¹ :

“...a change has come over the spirit of the time... A taste for books being introduced...the generous public cordially support what is worth their support... The range of the periodical literature in Bengal is very limited... To add one more to the list ...to supply the public with pieces ‘grave and gay’...to give occupation to their vacant hours—all that we aim at... That the magazine may be within the reach of all, its price has been fixed at a very low rate—viz., four annas a copy. It will consist of twenty-four octavo pages and will be carefully and neatly printed...”

Messrs. J.C. Bose and Company, Stanhope Press, 185, Bowbazar acted as publisher and printer while the proprietor was Baboo Prosad Dutt.² It was under the editorial management of Baboos Sambhu Chunder Mookerjee (later on the reputed editor of the *Reis and Rayyet*) and Kisto Das Pal (subsequently a Knight).³ The two were then co-students in the Metropolitan college.⁴

The first Number of the *Calcutta Monthly Magazine* came out on August 15, 1855, and in course of a review of this the *Hindu Intelligencer* observed (August 27, 1855) :

1. Prospectus printed in the *Hindu Intelligencer*, July 30, 1855.
2. Ram Gopal Sanyal, *Kristo Das Pal*, op. cit., p. 36.
3. F.H. Skrine, *An Indian Journalist*, op. cit., p. 11.
4. Ram Gopal Sanyal, *Kristo Das Pal*, op. cit., p. 11.

"It is well got up both in typographical and literary execution and deserves the patronage of all who are interested in the progress of education among the natives of the country."

The second Number was long delayed and was published ultimately in November 1855 as we come to learn from the *Hindu Intelligencer* on November 12, 1855. It contained "very precocious disquisitions on Sydney Smith, the Crimean War and other topics of the day."⁵

The *Calcutta Monthly Magazine* did not last long "for the boy editors had everything to learn as to the details of management ; and the fitful appearance of *Magazine* soon exhausted the patience of the readers." Silently it went off publication and we get no further mention of it in the contemporary journals.

THE PHOENIX (1855)

In its issue dated September 24, 1855, the *Hindu Intelligencer* contained the notice that "a tri-weekly paper will be started very soon...to be called the *Phoenix*."

We get details of it in the extracts of the prospectus in the editorial column of the *Morning Chronicle* on September 26, 1855 :

"A liberal Newspaper is about to be started in Calcutta, which will be issued three times a week, and will contain the pith of Indian Journalism, in the shape of the whole collective talent of the Indian papers, as well as the Home Journals ; for the small sum of Rs. 3 per mensem... The new Journal professes to belong to no 'party' and will not side with Government or against it. The name of this Tri-weekly will be *The Phoenix*..."

The *Phoenix* came out on November 14 next, printed at Messrs. Sanders & Cone's Press.¹ Since June 16, 1856, the *Phoenix* became a daily paper and according to the editor it had then subscribers "counting by hundreds."² The editorial management of the *Phoenix* rested with Mr. E.P. Moore³ till he vacated the chair in the first week of April 1857.⁴ We do not know who was the next editor.

In July 1856, the proprietor of the *Phoenix* purchased the *Citizen* and amalgamated the two under the title of the *Phoenix* and carried it on beyond 1857.⁵

1. *Morning Chronicle*, March 23 and June 11, 1855.

2. *Hindoo Patriot*, November 15, 1855, p. 361.

3. *Ibid.*, June 19 and July 24, 1856, pp. 195 and 235.

4. *Friend of India*, November 20, 1856, p. 1112.

5. *Hindoo Patriot*, April 9, 1857, p. 114.

6. *Friend of India*, January 14, 1858, p. 31.

THE DACCA NEWS (1856)

On April 21, 1856, came out the *Dacca News*, a weekly Newspaper to be published on every Saturday. at Dacca.¹ In the prefatory address with the first Number the editor gave out that it was his intention "to occupy himself chiefly with strictly local questions" as he had no time "for the affairs of Europe."² It was printed and published at the Dacca Press by J.A. Minas, for the proprietor, A. Forbes Esqr., as we get it from the first available issue which is dated January 17, 1857. Mr. Forbes himself was in charge of the editorial management of the paper. Subscription rate was fixed at rupees six and annas eight per annum or a single copy at two annas.

In the first anniversary editorial on April 18, 1857, its objectives and the range of its circulation were thus indicated :

"...We are happy to say we have been sold to a great many Indigo Planters... We have been sold to Civilians... We have been sold to Missionaries... We have been sold to natives, which...has been to us a source of the greatest satisfaction... We have not been bought by a single member of the Legislative Council, by a single Judge of the Sudder Court or by a single Member of the Sudder Board... Our object is the Truth, not only because it is what is sure in the end to produce the greatest good, but because one who pursues only the Truth has by far the easiest task before him..."

The *Dacca News* was upholder of the freedom of the press—but for only that section of it which was under the English or at

1. *Hindoo Patriot*, May 1, 1856, p. 140.

2. *Bengal Harkaru*, April 30, 1856.

best the Eurasian management. In an editorial on June 20, 1857, it thus commented on the Press Act of 1857 (Act XV of 1857) :

"The weakest acts of our Government since the outbreak of the mutiny have been those connected with the invention of printing... and now comes, in consequence of a seditious publication by the *Doorbin*, a native paper... an Act... prohibiting the liberty of the Press both native and European for the space of one year... Sooner than submit to such a condition we shall stop our paper—sell our type and press for the value of old lead and iron which they may fetch—and must seriously think of leaving the country... we had written... advocating the establishment of a mild censorship over the native press—a censorship that ought always from the commencement of a native press to have been exercised... and by so doing have introduced more correct modes of thinking among the natives. But this Act instead of suppressing merely the counsel of fools to fools, deprives the Government of the advice of wise men to those of our Governor who certainly do not know the country, or feelings of the Governed, so well as they do..."

The *Dacca News* did not stop publication and carried on with counsel to Government for bloodier measures to quell the Mutiny ultimately inviting a warning from Government under Act XV of 1857³ for her editorial article published on August 1, 1857, "The Tenure of Land by Europeans in India." This made her cautious and she went on beyond 1857 without further trouble.

3. *Dacca News*, August 15, 1857. p. 322.

THE WEEKLY NEWS (1856)

The *Hindoo Patriot* on April 24, 1856, announced the imminent appearance of a new Sunday periodical, to be titled the *Weekly News*. This came out in the first week of June next.¹ It intended "to summarise and furnish a digest of the various questions floating upon the surface of the Dailies of the Metropolis."² According to the *Phoenix* this was set up "in opposition to the *Friend of India*."³ This new periodical soon became involved in troubles for publication of some confidential public documents in its columns the copy of which were obtained by bribing some lower officials.⁴ Possibly for this and for want of sufficient support the *Weekly News* soon went off publication and we get it in the *Hindoo Patriot* on July 17, 1856: "We learn that the *Weekly News* has come to an end..."

1. *Friend of India*, June 5, 1856, p. 535.
2. *Morning Chronicle*, June 4, 1856.
3. *Phoenix*, June 3, 1856.
4. *Friend of India*, July 12, 1856, p. 558.

THE COMUS (1857)

The *Friend of India* on November 20, 1856, announced the prospective appearance of a new periodical of a type yet then new in Calcutta (Delhi had already one in the *Delhi Sketch Book*) :

"A comic periodical to be designated *Comus or the Calcutta Charivari* is to be shortly set on foot by Mr. K.P. Moore, the Editor of the *Phoenix*. It will be published weekly, at a charge of three Rupees a month for subscribers to the *Phoenix* and four Rupees for non-subscribers."

After a long delay finally it came out in April 1857 and the *Hindoo Patriot* wrote on April 23 : "The first number of '*Comus*' has made its appearance. The title page is in imitation and a good imitation of *Punch*. The letter press is superior to that of the *Delhi Sketch Book*."

In its issue of the first week of September, 1857, the *Comus* announced that it got a warning from the Government under Act XV of 1857.¹ But it was all hoax—jocular attempt to amuse the subscribers and the *Hindoo Patriot* retorted in the same vein—"Our facetious contemporary has had no such honor done to him. The licensed sedition in which he indulges can do no harm."

The *Comus* carried on beyond 1857.²

1. *Hindoo Patriot*, September 12, 1857, p. 297.

2. *Ibid.*, April 8, 1858, p. 106.

THE PRESS (1857)

In the *Hindoo Patriot* on October 1, 1857, came out the following advertisement for the publication of a new weekly periodical :

"We beg to inform our friends and the public that in a few days more a new Saturday evening journal will appear in connection with the *Harkaru* (the *Bengal Harkaru*). The new journal will comprise all topics of discussion and its columns will also contain carefully selected articles of literary and readable matter. The new paper will appear under the name '*The Press*'... Terms of subscription : per annum—Rs. 20, six months—Rs. 12, three months—Rs. 7, one month—Rs. 2."

Accordingly on November 7, 1857, the *Press* came out printed and published at the Bengal Harkaru Press. Its editorial management was however kept separate from that of the *Bengal Harkaru* (*Hindu Patriot*, May 6, 1858).

Coming out during the worst days of the Sepoy Mutiny the *Press* soon took a strong anti-native bias like the other English papers under European management and this was clearly hinted at in the following statement of "Our Policy" appearing in its issue on December 12, 1857 :

"For sometime it has been our intention to watch the tide of events. We have done so studiously allowing our native friends their full fling in the columns of the *Press*. We have arrived at the full and firm conviction that the aforesaid time of conviction is not right, and therefore as fair play is concerned we intend like the *Times* "to change our tactics."

Publication of the *Press* continued beyond the period of this study and appears to have been given up in 1860, on publication of the *Bi-weekly Harkaru* since October, 1860.

PART II

PART II

Chapter I

PRESS ESTABLISHMENT

In this Chapter we have made a study of the position, functions, remuneration etc. of all those who were directly concerned with the publication of newspapers and periodicals in the period of our study. They were the editors, the printers the compositors, the reporters, the pressmen, the harcarahs or the delivey peons and finally the proprietors.

THE EDITOR

In the initial stage of the English Press in Bengal the position and pre-eminence enjoyed by an editor in the Press Establishment of the present days was unknown. His role in the management was unrecognised and ineffective.

J.A. Hicky was himself the proprietor, publisher and printer for his *Bengal Gazette or the Original Calcutta General Advertiser*. He also exercised the editorial management over it. But he made himself known in the *Gazette* as the printer¹ (and neither as the proprietor, editor or publisher). Possibly with the designation of a printer he felt most satisfaction. The correspondences with him, as published in the *Gazette*, were also addressed as "Mr. Hicky, Printer of the Calcutta Newspaper" (and not as editor). The same was the case with the *India Gazette or the Calcutta Public Advertiser*. That was brought out by Mr. Peter Reed and Mr. B. Messinck. They were also the editors and the publishers for the same. But in the *Gazette* they notified themselves simply as printers.²

1. *The Bengal Gazette*, January 29, 1780 and subsequent issues.
2. *The India Gazette*, November 25, 1780 and subsequent issues for years.

In the same way as in the *Bengal Gazette* of Hicky the correspondences for the *Calcutta Gazette* in the earliest years were also addressed by the public to the printer and not to the editor.

This was natural as it was the printer who had the largest public contact, on behalf of the management. He was the receiver of all articles for publication in the paper.³ It was also to him that everyone was to notify their address for regular delivery of their copy of the paper.⁴

Government, however, did prefer to deal with the editor instead of the printer where these were different individuals (like in the *Calcutta Gazette*)⁵ as this notice would indicate : "We are directed by the Hon'ble the Governor General and Council to express their entire disapprobation of some extracts from English newspapers which appeared in their paper... They (the Governor General and Council) will hold the Editor accountable to them, and expect that he does not publish anything that is improper."⁶

Gradually, however, the office of the editor of an Anglo-Indian paper became well known to the public and we see that in the *Calcutta Gazette* for 1787 the correspondences were addressed to the editor and this became the general practice in other papers also. But though letters were now being addressed to the editor the responsibility of selection and publication often rested with the printer as would appear from a notice in the *Calcutta Chronicle* : "The Proprietor of the *Chronicle*...in justice to themselves...seize the earliest opportunity to contradict a report which has been circulated...respecting the printing of the scandalous and disgraceful letter signed A.R. ... As the sole management of the Chronicle Press was committed to Mr. Upjohn as printer, it was customary for him to receive several articles to be printed...and perform them without reference to the other Proprietors..."⁷

In the hierarchy of the Press Establishment the printer gradually suffered loss of importance in relation to the editor as would

3. *Calcutta Gazette*, January 6, 1785.

4. *Ibid.*, March 10, 1785.

5. Mr. Francis Gladwin was the editor of the *Calcutta Gazette* about this time ; *ibid.*, March 3, 1785.

6. *Ibid.*, February 10, 1785.

7. *Calcutta Chronicle*, June 19, 1792.

appear from the fact that unlike in the past the name of the printer was occasionally not even mentioned in the body of a paper.⁸

The Government generally acted on the principle that the editor would be held responsible for the contents of the paper. Number of cases mentioned in the letter from the Chairman and Dy. Chairman of the E.I. Co. to the Rt. Hon'ble Charles Watkin Williams Wynn dated January 17, 1823, would lead us to this conclusion. A few of these cases are cited below⁹ :-

(a) In 1794, Mr. William Duane, the editor of the *World*, was deported to Europe for "improper and intemperate articles and particularly an inflammatory address to the army."

(b) In 1796, Mr. Horsley, the editor of the *Calcutta Gazette*, was held up for inserting observations "relative to certain communications on the subject of peace which had passed between the Court of London and the French Republic."

(c) In 1798, a letter appeared in the *Telegraph* which according to Government would tend to "excite discontent and disaffection in the Indian army." But as the author (Capt. Williamson) could be traced out and suitably penalised, the editor was spared.

(d) In 1798, a letter from one Mr. Charles McLean was published in the *Telegraph* "animadverting on the official conduct of Mr. Rider, the Magistrate of Ghazeepore." This time the Government called upon both the editor of the *Telegraph* and also Mr. McLean to apologise for the publication.

The Press Regulations of Lord Wellesley in 1799 which established censorship for Press in India made it compulsory for the printer to make his name public as he was "to print his name at the bottom of the paper."¹⁰ But the editor or the proprietor was simply "to deliver in his name and place of abode to the Secretary to Government."¹¹

The Press Rules of August 1818 by Lord Hastings substituted

8a. *Asiatic Mirror*, December 20, 1797.

8b. *Calcutta Chronicle*, June 19, 1792.

9. Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1834, Volume 8, Paper No. 601, Appendix, pp. 111-112.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 112.

11. *Ibid.*

those of 1799. The sole responsibility for observing the provisions of these Rules rested with the editor.

The Press Regulations of John Adam in 1823¹² providing for license for publication of newspapers and other periodicals, practically diminished the responsibility of an editor to the Government. The license was to be obtained through a regular process by the proprietor who would see that in conducting the paper the Regulations were not violated and in case of any infringement the license could be revoked. The notice for cancellation of license for the *Calcutta Journal* was thus issued to Mr. John Palmer and Mr. George Ballard, the principal co-proprietors and agents of John Silk Buckingham (also a co-proprietor) on the spot.¹³

Same was the case with the *Calcutta Chronicle*. The license for the publication was cancelled by Government with notice to the proprietors.¹⁴

The Government however would spare the proprietor when the editor could be sacrificed. Such was the case with the *Bengal Chronicle*. For an editorial article appearing in the *Bengal Chronicle*, on December 8, 1826, the Government by a letter to the proprietor, Mr. Monta de Rozario, withdrew the license for its publication.¹⁵ But as the proprietor replaced the editor (Mr. James Sutherland) by a new one (Mr. William Adam) the Government, on supplication by the proprietor permitted him to continue the paper.¹⁶

12. Digest of Consolidated Arrangement of the Regulations and Acts of the Bengal Government from 1793 to 1854, prepared under the authority of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors of the E.I. Co., London 1855; Misc., pp. 2-3.
13. Reply to the Question No. 613, examination of James Silk Buckingham on July 1, 1834; Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1834, Vol. 8, Paper 601, p. 79.
14. (a) The *Bengal Harkaru*, June 1, 1827. The letters was thus addressed: "To Mr. William Adam and Mr. Villiers Holcroft, Proprietors of the *Calcutta Chronicle*."
(b) Copy of the letter submitted by Mr. James Sutherland before the Select Committee in course of his reply to Question No. 1086, on March 16, 1832; Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1831-32, Vol. 9, Paper 735-I, p. 123.
15. The *Bengal Harkaru*, December 11, 1826.
16. Ibid., December 12, 1826.

Though the executive would thus spare the proprietor accepting the responsibility of the editor for articles published in a paper the judiciary would not act accordingly. Thus Mr. A. Wight, an Attorney in the Supreme Court, brought a suit for libel against the proprietors of the *Bengal Herald* for an article in the 12th Number of issue of Volume I and though the proprietors disclaimed and the editor accepted all liabilities they were nonetheless indicted.¹⁷

Such was also the case of the proprietor of the *Bengal Harkaru*. He stood charged for libel for a 'letter to the editor' published in an issue in March 1827 and fined for Rs. 800/-.¹⁸

To avoid any possibility of such difficulties proprietors like Dr. Bryce of the *John Bull* made it sure that nothing was inserted in the paper without their sanction.¹⁹

The Press Act of Sir Charles Metcalfe (Act XI of 1835) spared the editors and the proprietors from legal responsibility and bound down the printer and publisher in stead, as it provided (a) that the printer and publisher of every printed periodical works containing public news or comments on public news should sign a declaration before a Magistrate that they were the printer and publisher of the same ; and (b) that every printed book or paper should contain the name of printer and publisher and place of printing and publication.²⁰

This gave rise to prolonged discussion in the Press on the question of editorial responsibility. Thus, for example, the *Englishman* wrote criticising the provisions of the Act²¹—that these vested the printer, "mere servant of the Editor," with the power of putting a veto on the publication of what may be sent to the printing office for that purpose" and would "so completely alter the relative position of the parties as utterly to prevent the business from being efficiently carried on." Hence it made the suggestion that "the Government should provide for the responsibility of

17. The *Bengal Herald*, August 8, 1829, p. 217.

18. *Bengal Harkaru*, July 1, 1829.

19. Letter of Dr. Bryce to Attorney Mr. Dickens, extracted in the *Bengal Harkaru*, April 6, 1829.

20. Digest of Consolidated Arrangement of the Regulations and Acts, op. cit., Misc. pp. 2-3.

21. *Englishman*, extracted in the *Calcutta Courier*, May 16, 1835.

the Editor and him alone." In reply to this the *Calcutta Courier* wrote²² that it did not concur with this opinion of the *Englishman* that "the Printer should be absolved from all responsibility" and made the suggestion that the Government should make the provision for equal sharing of responsibility between the proprietor, printer and the editor.

The question of editorial responsibility again came up to the surface in 1857. Under the provisions of Act XV of 1857 Government revoked the license for the *Bengal Harkaru*²³ for publication of a letter to the editor on September 5, 1857, and for editorial on September 14, and another letter on 15, 1857. Mr. Sims, the proprietor of the *Bengal Harkaru*, represented to Government for renewal of the license and wrote that under his engagement with Mr. Blanchard as the editor of the *Harkaru*, "the internal economy and management of the paper is entrusted to him" and that neither the letters nor the editorials passed under his review. He also proposed to change the editor.²⁴ The license was renewed with the following rejoinder in the letter of C. Beadon Esqr. to W. Sims, Esqr. dated September 23, 1857²⁵ "that the responsibility for what is printed at any press rests upon the proprietor of that press, and upon him alone. It is the intention of the Government to enforce the law, but it will not interfere with the proprietor's choice of an editor." This brings into clear relief the Government's conception of editor's responsibilities *vis-a-vis* proprietor's liabilities.

In the case of the *Friend of India* Government took an identical stand. For two editorial articles in that periodical appearing on June 25 and July 2, 1857, the Governor General in Council "felt it necessary to direct the revocation of the license" which was issued under provision of Act XV of 1857. But ultimately this was not done "in consequence of an assurance...received, on the part of the representatives of the...proprietor...that the

22. *Calcutta Courier*, May 16, 1835.

23. Letters from C. Beadon Esqr., Secretary to Government of India to W. Sims Esqr. dated September 18, 1857; Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1857-58, Vol. 43, Paper 253, p. 64.

24. Letter of W. Sims Esqr. dated September 19, 1857; *ibid*.

25. *Ibid*.

newspaper shall . . . be carried on so as to avoid all cause of complaint, and within the terms of the license."¹

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It was generally the case, particularly in the earlier days of our period, that the proprietor himself (or one of them in case of a joint venture of many) had the editorial charge of the paper. But even when there was an editor the general practice was to keep his identity undisclosed, as far as practicable, from the public (and also from the Government except when it was mandatory to communicate under provision of the Press Rules of 1799). In the prospectus for the paper the name of the editor was almost invariably omitted. Thus, for example, the prospectus for the celebrated *Calcutta Journal* nowhere mentions James Silk Buckingham as its editor but simply gives out that the proprietors "placed the management of the Journal in the hands of a gentleman who possesses a general knowledge of the duties of an Editor, and a particular acquaintance with some of the branches of information proposed to be treated of in their columns, besides considerable experience of most of the subjects which compose the essence of our Public Prints."²

There were but a few exceptions, e.g., the prospectus for the *John Bull in the East* specifically named James Mackenzie³ as its editor. But it was suspected by the contemporaries that the real editorial person for the paper remained hidden behind this announcement.⁴

So much secrecy was maintained that even the professional brethren were often unknown to each other. An interesting anecdote on this point is related by E.W. Madge in his 'Henry Derozio, The Eurasian Poet and Reformer.'⁵ When Derozio was conducting the *East Indian*, Capt. R.A. Macnaghten was the editor of the *John Bull*. He was offended at an article published

1. Letter from C. Beadon Esq., Secretary to Government of India to A.R. Young Esq., dated July 3, 1857; *ibid.*, p. 46.
2. Prospectus for the *Calcutta Journal* in the *Calcutta Gazette*, September 29, 1818.
3. Prospectus for the *John Bull in the East* in the Government Gazette, June 14, 1821.
4. "To Correspondents", in the *Calcutta Journal*, June 21, 1821, p. 622.
5. E.W. Madge, *Henry Derozio*, op. cit., p. 14.

in the *East Indian* and called at its office armed with a cane. "I have come to take satisfaction," he announced to Derozio who replied, "Then take it." Finding his antagonist a mere youth (about whom previously he had no idea) the doughty Capt. contented himself with gently placing his cane on Derozio's shoulder. "Consider yourself assaulted, Sir!" he explained and walked out of the office (as if he would not have taken the trouble to come if he had known earlier that a mere youth like Derozio was the editor of the *East Indian*). James Silk Buckingham, the well informed editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, was in darkness even as to the identity of the most pronounced of his rivals, the editor of the *John Bull*, and in August 1822, he wrote⁶— "...the Proprietors of the *John Bull* are, we believe ... gentlemen in the Civil Service, and the Editor an officer in the Company's Army as well as a Professor in the College..." But in fact the editor of the *John Bull* was then Mr. Charles Greenlaw, Coroner of Calcutta and Secretary of the Marine Board.⁷

The case of Dr. D.J. O'Callaghan, Asst. Garrison Surgeon, Fort William, may be cited as an instance of the completeness of secrecy as to the identity of an editor. Residing with his garrison in the Fort William he secretly carried on as the editor of the *Calcutta Morning Chronicle* for long. It was only accidentally that his association with the *Morning Chronicle* came to the notice of the Government and he became the subject matter of lengthy correspondences between the Governor General and the Court of Directors.⁸

Not only the name of editor was kept undisclosed but attempt would also be made to mystify his identity. We may here quote the editorial comment of the *Bengal Herald* on the second number of the *Calcutta Literary Gleaner* of Mr. Carey⁹—"The number opens with an attempt to mystify the public respecting the identity of the editor of the *Gleaner*." We may cite an instance also from the prospectus of the *Bengal Times*—"Its (*Bengal*

6. *Calcutta Journal*, August 24, 1822; p. 764.

7. *The Englishman*, Centenary Number, Supplement, July 2, 1921.

8. Supplemental Appendix to Reports from the Select Committee on Indian Territories; Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1852-53, Vol. 29, Paper 897 I, pp. 10-11.

9. *Bengal Herald*, April 9, 1842, p. 116.

Times) Editorial management will be entrusted to gentleman well qualified for the task, not without some experience in local journalism, and who will employ the *Bengal Times*, neither as the organ nor the tool of any party, clique or individual"¹⁰ (the would-be incumbent remained unnamed in the whole of the prospectus). In the same way we get in the *Morning Chronicle*¹¹—"We have for sometime past endeavoured to obtain for this paper an Editor, who could devote his whole time, energy and talent to the conduct of it... It affords us therefore particular pleasure now to inform our readers that we have at last succeeded in securing the services of a gentleman." But this much advertised new find was kept unnamed. The last of the instances that we would cite is in respect of the *Bengal Harkaru* of whom the *Englishman* wrote in May 1852¹²—"The *Harkaru*... is known for preserving a sort of mystery about the editorship... of his paper."

Hence, a writer in the *Saunders' Monthly Magazine* in June 1852, wrote of the Indian editors as members of an "anonymous order."¹³

In the late fifties the practice in this respect appears to be undergoing transformation and occasionally now we find the identity of the incumbents of the editorial chairs disclosed.

This practice of non-disclosure of the name of editor was imitated by the native proprietors of the English periodicals and with success. For example, it was long in discussion as to who the editor of the *Reformer* was and we are not even now certain who was in the charge of editorial management of the *Hindoo Patriot* prior to its purchase by Hurish Ch. Mookerjee—Grish Chunder Ghose or Hurish Chunder Mookerjee?

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The editor, often in the background and beyond the public gaze, was the busiest man in the whole Establishment of a News-

10. Prospectus of the *Bengal Times* extracted in the *Friend of India*, June 6, 1850.
11. *Morning Chronicle*, February 3, 1853, extracted in the *Citizen*, February 24, 1853.
12. *The Englishman*, May 12, 1852, extracted in the *Madras Examiner*, May 25, 1852.
13. "The Press in India"—*Saunders' Monthly Magazine*, June, 1852, p. 557.

paper. The stress and strains which he had to undergo for the due discharge of his duties would be evident from a glance over the daily routine for an Indian editor. The first routine we come across is from the pen of Buckingham of the *Calcutta Journal*¹⁴ :

“The Editor is most frequently at his desk at six O’clock, the morning hour for exercise ; and in the two hours of quiet that he thus enjoys before the labours of the day, properly so called commence, the arrangements for that day’s occupations are made. The daily dawk frequently brings a dozen private Letters to be answered ; often twenty public ones relating to change of stations, remittances etc., etc. ; and seldom less than half a dozen Communications, besides all the Gazettes of the other Indian Settlements, for examinations previous to Publication ; besides 30 or 40 Chits, as they are expressively called, from persons in Town, all of which must be answered. The private Letters are necessarily replied to briefly ; the public ones relative to accounts must all be answered accurately ; and those enclosing Communications to be published must be examined minutely.

“For the illegible manner in which these last one are often written, it frequently happens that they can only be deciphered by the Editor himself. These must therefore be fairly written out and copied by his *own hand* for the Printers. In such as can be read by others, the defects of language, if any, with the punctuation, capitals, divisions of sentences and paragraphs, which those who first write for the public eye pay so little attention to, must all be remedied. An hour is devoted sometimes in the middle of the day to write on original subjects ; but more frequently whatever is written as Editorial matter is done at such short intervals of five or ten minutes as can be seized between the almost incessant interruptions of the day.

“Towards the close of the afternoon, the proof-sheets are brought to be read with copy ; and from this copy being mostly manuscript in all kinds of handwriting, there are often unavoidably a hundred errors in a page. The second reading, or revising as it is called, lessens this number ; but sometimes

14. *Calcutta Journal*, December 11, 1819, p. 273.

even after the third reading, it is necessary to look them over again.

"The Editor's labours thus seldom begin later than 6 in the morning,—rarely close before 7 or 8 in the evening,—are often extended to 10, and occasionally till even midnight, before he retires."

Mr. J.H. Stocqueler, one of the most successful and renowned English editors of our period, also gave us the daily routine of an editor of a diurnal in Calcutta in the early thirties of the last century¹⁵ :

"Rise at half past five ;—open the daily journals directly they arrive. Read, learn and inwardly digest ;—note for extract ;—write dissent, assent, or reflections suggested by contemporary's correspondents. Ablution and *la-toilette*... Breakfast, brief and spare—toast, tea and a *periodical*—off to business at 9 A.M.... At office summon the printer, supply him with extracts from English and Asiatic papers, made with care the previous night... At ten, the 'busy hum' begins—and as you prepare to write an article, two or three notes successively enter bearing reference to some of your sins of omission or commission in that day's paper. You answer them—and continue your article. The Shipping Report announces a ship from Europe...you are in a fever of excitement—other notes come in,—a frivolous visitor—the dawk, with letters, and Madras, Bombay, Ceylon and Mofussil papers. You can only glance over all the latter and marking what your experienced eye discerns to be sufficiently meritorious you send them to the printer. But the substance of all is retained in your head,—you finish your article,—in the composition of which you have been seven times interrupted—and proceed to answer your correspondents, and comment on the news communicated by the country dawk.—12 at noon, the Europe papers come up—twenty days' intelligence ! and all to be gathered and condensed in time for your dawk edition. You systematically proceed. You are engaged in a Parliamentary precis, wading through not less than 100 columns of the

15. "The Calcutta Press" in the *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine and Review*, No. III, October 1833, pp. 428-429.

Times... The sircar brings his cash account, you are required to sign bills, answer letters, receive visitors, give orders and—it is three O'clock!... You have just ten minutes to snatch an imperfect meal. The second country dawd comes in—a bundle of periodicals arrive—or a letter of a correspondent—or a police office report—or an angry letter from a subscriber. All, all must be noticed at once. It is now past four, and the proofs of your lubrications and those of your correspondents (the rest are read by the head printer) await your inspection and correction...and to preface a copious summing of news from the newspapers;—this is a serious task, mentally and mechanically...and by seven in the evening your work is over...and then with smarting eyes, and aching wrist, and almost empty stomach, and a breaking back...wend your way to your home. Fatigue scarcely allows you to look at your wife and children—you fall asleep, and in a couple of hours, wake up again to bohea, proof-sheets, and preparation for the morrow!..."

No doubt there is much exaggeration in this daily diary of J.H. Stocqueler, e.g., the European arrivals were only periodical and the verification of cash accounts of the sircar and particularly reception of visitors (as the editor would often keep himself unidentified and concealed) were generally attended to by some one other than the editor, as an agent of the proprietor. Mr. J.H. Stocqueler who was simultaneously the editor of two monthlies (the *Bengal Sporting Magazine* and the *East India United Service Journal*) and a hebdomadal (the *Oriental Observer*) besides the *Englishman*, himself wrote, "Up by five in the morning and working until midnight with the interval of half an hour's siesta after a light tiffin, I managed not only to spend a couple of hours on horse back every day, but to study parts for the theatre (he was fond of acting and was an amateur actor of the Calcutta Theatre), carry on a large correspondence, and establish an army agency."¹⁶

However, according to opinions recorded in the contemporary journals the duties of editor of an Anglo-Indian Journal were quite onerous and there were few posts "more utterly unenviable

16. J. S. Stocqueler, op. cit., p. 95.

than that of an Indian Editor.”¹⁷ He was “ill-remunerated” and “seldom understood” and the editor of the *Eastern Star* gave out that he would prefer “quill-driving in a government office, tailoring, sailing or horsebreaking—anything in preference to the barren honours of editorship.”¹⁸ The writer went on—“Anything would be better than finding one’s self daily and hourly compelled either to lose caste by a confession of ignorance, or to enact a lie by passing confident opinions on subjects with which he is utterly unacquainted, or to descend still lower and effect anxiety about men and things in whom he can not feel a particle of interest.”

This point is further dilated upon thus¹⁹: “He (the editor) is expected to possess within himself the resources of half a dozen men. In politics, statesmanship, law, commerce and military statistics, he is supposed to be equally proficient. In one article he may be called upon to pronounce an opinion, which he must support by argument, for or against the annexation of a conquered kingdom; in another he may have to criticise the operations of the invading force; while in a third he may be required to decide upon the validity of a Supreme Court judgment, and in the fourth to analyze the complicated mass of a Union Bank investigation.”

Obviously no man of moderate abilities or even somewhat above that could possibly grapple with subjects at once so varied and intricate.

The editor of an Anglo-Indian newspaper would hardly get a holiday—not even during the days of Durga Puja when for many days there was complete “cease work” in the Government offices, educational institutions and most of the Commercial Houses. Thus the editor of the *Friend of India* wrote in October²⁰: “This is the first day of the Holidays, which...afford the dust suffocated denizens of Calcutta thirteen full days for breathing the purer air of the river of the country. Calcutta is out of town; nobody left but the druggists and editorial drudges.”

17. The *Eastern Star*, June 26, 1852, extracted in the *Citizen*, July 23, 1852.

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Friend of India*, October 17, 1839, p. 661.

The editor of the *Morning Chronicle* also commented on the same topic²¹: "...we sincerely and heartily...suggest that it would be well if we could all close during the (Durga Puja) holidays, and go and amuse ourselves, as everyone else is doing. It would be a sensible plan, and we can not see why, for a few days, the births, marriages, deaths, accidents, and Semaphore arrivals could not take care of themselves, and give us a holiday. The only men who work half as hard as the daily editors, are the brokers, and there is not one of those gentlemen in Calcutta at the present moment. Their tats with outstretched neck and flatant nostril, are no longer to be seen in the vacant streets, their brownberries are laid up in silent shades, whilst their owners, no longer anxious to do anything at a half penny, are pigsticking at Berhampore, shooting waterfoul at Burdwan, or galloping about the park at Barrackpore. Everyone gets a holiday except an Editor... We sincerely wish that the Calcutta daily Editors would conspire to take a holiday, and follow the brokers into the Moffussil to shoot tigers."

This was undoubtedly written in a humourous spirit but nonetheless it shows the editorial pining for holidays.

Not only the editors got no repose during the Puja holidays but during these days they had to work harder and we get from the *Friend of India*²²: "This is the week in the year in which our compositors who are nearly all Hindoos, claim their annual holiday of us... We have taken the opportunity of bringing up our arrears of correspondence and working off our stock of editorial matter."

Mr. James Hume who was, according to his contemporaries, successful man in the editorial chair of the *Calcutta Star* thus wrote in the columns of his paper on the occasion of his relinquishing the editorship on succession to a vacancy on the Magisterial Bench in Calcutta²³: "...reviewing the period that has elapsed (period of more than six years as editor)...it has been to us, one of unceasing labour—slavery would hardly be too strong a term..."

21. *Morning Chronicle*, October 3, 1851.

22. *Friend of India*, October 2, 1851, p. 625.

23. *Ibid*, April 29, 1846.

Hence was the difficulty, more so in the earlier period, to get a competent editor for a first class paper and we get the proprietor of the *Bengal Harkaru* writing on July 1, 1829 : "Several Editors of this paper have abandoned their posts for more lucrative employment ; others would not undergo the labour and responsibility of the office twice the sum the Proprietors could afford."

This was the outcome of the circumstances then prevailing in India. The proprietors of journals could not provide assistance for their editors. They could not—the market for supply of editorial hands in the Anglo-Indian society of the time was limited.

This point was highlighted by the editor of the *John Bull* in his article in the *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine & Review* when he wrote that the Indian editor united "in his own person those functions which are divided amongst different individuals in wealthier countries and larger communities"²⁴ e.g., in England "where the field of editorial selection is wide, it is not difficult for the proprietor of a paper to raise a corps of editors, who... hold the same opinion on leading questions, (and)... resemble one another so closely in their style of composition as to give to the leading articles of a paper the appearance of having emanated from one party."²⁵

Of course, it was an object of pride for the editors of Anglo-Indian papers that single-handed they could carry on a task which required so many helping hands in England.¹

Seldom in the earlier part of our period do we find such functionaries as Joint Editor, Dy. Editor, Assistant Editor and Sub-Editor in the Establishment of an Indian journal who could provide relief to the editor. In 1819 Buckingham, the editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, wrote, in meeting complaint of negligence from some of his correspondents, "that he stands alone and unassisted in any and every department of his duty as an Editor ; —and that there is not a hand to which he has ever yet delegated

24. *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine & Review*, No. III, October 1833, p. 428.

25. *Ibid*, p. 431.

1. *Calcutta Star*, May 21, 1846.

what may be called his Editorial duties, whether in sickness or in health—in his buoyant spirits or in despondency.”²

As the editor had to carry on the duties of his chair unassisted and single-handed there were many notices in the pages of the contemporary papers of his default due to other preoccupations and illness as the following extracts would show :

- (a) “The Proprietors of the *Calcutta Gazette* are sorry, that, in consequences of the sudden and violent indisposition of the Editor, they are unable to publish the introductory remarks in this day’s paper ; but they sincerely hope, he will soon be restored to good health and resume his editorial office” (*Calcutta Gazette*, March 5, 1818).
- (b) “Unforeseen occurrences in the course of yesterday have prevented us from appearing, as we may say, before our readers in our editorial person. They will excuse us...” (*Bengal Harkaru*, October 13, 1824).
- (c) “In consequence of the Editor’s being laid up with the prevailing fever...(there is) the necessity of issuing today’s number in its present incomplete form” i.e. without any editorial matter at all (*India Gazette*, July 26, 1824).
- (d) “We have to ask the indulgence of our readers for the small quantity of editorial matter in today’s paper. Illness having almost prevented our taking our pen in hand, we have unable to do more than add an item of news to the matter we already had in type” (*Calcutta Star*, May 28, 1846).

Gradually the practice was coming into use that the editors would accept contributions from outside for editorial columns of their paper. They would even publicly invite the same from their readers. This becomes evident from the following extract from the *John Bull* (on July 31, 1823) :

“When we first undertook the conduct of the *John Bull* we frequently received articles which were sent to us to insert at our pleasure editorially. We had no repugnance to the practice on any general principle, but in our own particular case, and

2. *Calcutta Journal*, Decem̄ber 11, 1819, p. 273.

situated as we then were, we felt it incumbent upon us to satisfy our Readers, that we had undertaken an office for which we were not altogether unqualified. We could only do this by refusing to insert any composition, but our own, editorially... That object being now fully gained, by the length of time we have conducted the *John Bull*, we see no reason why we should any longer object to receiving that assistance which, we believe, is the constant practice at home. We shall therefore feel obliged to any of our friends, who may be disposed to indulge their pens on the passing occurrences of the day ; we must of course be held at liberty to reject any communication for this purpose, which we can not strictly and conscientiously adopt..."

This practice was not confined to the *John Bull*. It seems to have been common to others also.³

The situation clearly called for a change and in the fifties we meet with Joint, Assistant and Sub-Editors with comparative frequency. This may be due to the change which had gradually come over the material structure of the Anglo-Indian papers. These were now to contain much more diversified Indian intelligence and proportionately lesser quantum of 'Selection' from the English and European papers and European intelligence which could be arranged more easily. We may cite a few such appointments as instance.

In 1851, we get Mr. Heatley as the Joint-Editor of the *Citizen*.⁴ The association did not last long and we get another gentleman as an Assistant Editor in February 1853 (*Citizen*, February 3, 1853).

In June 1855, the *Morning Chronicle* engaged Rev. Mr. Moor as Sub-Editor (*Hindu Intelligencer*, June 4, 1855). We also meet with two Sub-Editors of the *Englishman*, one of whom was Mr. Macdonald Stephenson⁵ and the other was Mr. P. Saunders who subsequently in January 1856 was entrusted with the editorial management of the *Harkaru*.⁶ Messrs. Jerdan and Sullivan

3. *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine and Review*, No. III, October 1833, p. 431.

4. *Friend of India*, February 13, 1851, p. 102.

5. *Speeches of Ram Gopal Ghose* op. cit., p. xx.

6. *Hindoo Patriot*, January 3, 1856, p. 2.

were then engaged as his Assistant Editors (*Morning Chronicle*, January 24, 1856). Mr. G.R. Wilby acted as a Sub-Editor for the *Friend of India* (*Hindoo Patriot*, February 5, 1857).

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What could be the pay for the incumbents of the editorial chairs? The information on this point is very scanty. In the earlier period the proprietors themselves were mostly in the editorial charge for their papers and appropriated to themselves the surplus that remained after meeting the charge for printing and expenses of Establishment. In the contemporary records we do not get any mention of the quantum of this surplus. James Silk Buckingham, the proprietor-editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, used to draw remuneration as editor at a fixed percentage on this surplus and as such the total amount was subject to fluctuation.⁷ But we do not get the rate of percentage for this.

In a subsequent period, in the early thirties, we find that the editor of the *Calcutta Courier* had the monthly pay of eight hundred rupees.⁸ It is likely that besides acting as editor of the *Calcutta Courier* he had also to act as the superintendent of the Military Orphan Press which owned the *Calcutta Courier*. At that time the editor of the *John Bull* used to draw remuneration @ Rs. 500 per mensem.⁹ In 1836, the *Bengal Harkaru* advertised for a Sub-Editor offering salary at "Rs. 300 and, under certain circumstances (not detailed out in the advertisement) 400 rupees per mensem."¹⁰ In 1839, the Military Orphan Society engaged a new editor (Capt. J.A. Currie) at a reduced salary of Rs. 500/- per month.¹¹ And in 1846, the *Agra Paper*, *Mofussilite*, advertised in the *Calcutta Star* on May 28, for a Deputy Editor at rupees two hundred and fifty per mensem "which sum will be increased yearly, in proportion to his merits, till it reaches 500 Rupees a month. House rent will also be found."

7. Reply to Question No. 108, examination of James Silk Buckingham; Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1834, Vol. 8, Paper 601, p. 6.

8. *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine & Review*, No. III, October 1833, p. 411.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 415.

10. Advertisement in the *Bengal Harkaru*, July 1, 1836.

11. *Friend of India*, February 28, 1839, p. 133.

A few years later Mr. McLaughlin, editor of the *Cawnpore Central Star*, had to go to the Court for his pay in consequence of a dispute with the proprietor. He had his salary judicially adjusted at Rs. 200/- per month (*Hindoo Patriot*, November 27, 1856). We learn that in the early fifties the *Morning Chronicle* offered Mr. Moor Rs. 200/- a month as Sub-Editor¹² and used to pay Dr. D. J. O'Callaghan Rs. 400/- per month as its editor¹³ while the editor of the *Englishman* received 1,000 rupees a month with free quarters.¹⁴ In the same period we get that John Newmarch "commenced editing a daily paper (the *Citizen*) on Rs. 450 a month with board and lodging free" and "afterwards had 300 rupees a month for editing the *Eastern Star*" (*Citizen*, July 23, 1852).

In the fifties, there might be a comparative reduction in the rate of remuneration of all those who were engaged in the profession of the Press as we read in the *Eastern Star*¹⁵: "...in every respect the prosperity of the Press had suffered a proportionate decadance (over the last 10 or 15 years). Then the regular employees on the staff of a newspaper were amply remunerated, and were not driven to the necessity of seeking extraneous means of support...now, in these degenerate days, editors' salaries are reduced to a fraction of what they once were..." The reason for the reduction was not given out nor have we sufficient information to offer any comment whatsoever on this point.

Towards the end of 1851, we find the *Bombay Times* incidentally assessing the real income of the editors of Anglo-Indian Journals.¹⁶ According to it the pay of such an editor in India even at the "marvellous" sum of £ 700 to £ 1200 per

12. News Item dt. 28.5.1855; *Hindu Intelligencer*, June 4, 1855.

13. Letter No. 122 of 1852, Military Dept. dt. July 14, 1852, from the Governor General in Council to the Court of Directors; Supplemental Appendix to Report from the Select Committee, Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1852-53, Vol. 29, Paper 2971, p. 10.

14. *Citizen*, July 23, 1852.

15. *Eastern Star*, June 26, 1852, extracted in the *Citizen*, July 23, 1852.

16. *Bombay Times*, November 18, 1851, extracted in the *Morning Chronicle*, November 28, 1851.

annum would in fact be lesser in terms of utility and comfort than which "the poor... editors of provincial papers (such as the *Fiefshire Journal*) secure at home—seldom amounting to £ 200 a year." For, the latter would add to it "literary or other earnings not incompatible with his editorial duties." Then, "he is in his own country, with a climate suited to his constitution; he lives in the midst of kindred and of friends, and is surrounded by those of occupations and disposition congenial to his own." But his counterpart in India "has a constant battle to fight with climate" and "sickness will in a few years for a time separate a married man from his family." Moreover, the "inter-change of sympathy, congeniality of feeling, and community of pursuit, which give the grand charm to existence, to the intellectual man in India is a dream."

The reduction in remuneration in the fifties, if there was any, as alleged by the *Eastern Star*, was to some extent compensated by the enhancement of social prestige of the editors. It was now being held that the services of an editor had a high degree of social utility. "It is clear that an Editor's duty to the public is not performed when he has secured priority of intelligence or written able articles on the question of the hour."¹⁷ It was expected that an editor should exert some moral influence on the Society through his paper. Hence it was desired that he should be a man of character. A correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle* wrote on this point: "If it were true that the question of character in an Editor was of no moment, it is difficult to see how it could be held important in any other pursuit. Why should the priest be religious, the lawyer honest, the physician moral... Small indeed is the influence either of these could exercise compared with the man who has a press at his command."¹⁸

Character of an editor was now considered to be an object of such great importance that in the advertisement in the *Morning Chronicle* in 1851 for an editor for a weekly paper candidate for the post was simply required to be of "unexceptionable character."¹⁹

17. *Morning Chronicle*, October 24, 1851.

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Ibid.*, October 27, 1851, advertisement.

Naturally the question that arises in this context is, what was the accepted notion of required qualifications for a successful editor of an Anglo-Indian paper of the time? Our knowledge on this point is very meagre. Advertisement for candidates for the editorial chairs might have supplied us with valuable informations. But unfortunately we rarely come across such advertisement. The one that deserves notice was in the *Bengal Harkaru* on July, 1836, calling applications from suitable candidates for the post of Sub-Editor for that paper. In it duties and qualifications were thus mentioned—"daily attendance, ability to make Selections from English and other newspapers; to arrange Mss. for Press, reports of public meetings and generally assist the Editor in his labours. Active and systematic habits are essentials for the performance of these duties."

In the later part of our period occasionally we get the editors discussing amongst themselves the qualifications necessary for successfully conducting a journal. Thus the editor of the *Calcutta Star* (then Mr. James Hume, a man of success in the profession) in an editorial on January 22, 1846, wrote: "...a mere literary man was likely to make a very inefficient Editor. Certain it is that many of the qualifications required in an Editor are precisely those that are ordinarily wanting in Literary men—knowledge of the world, activity, and industry. The style of the Novelist or Romance Writer is not that adapted to the columns of a daily paper. What is required is the power of condensations and the will to do it..." In another context the *Calcutta Star* wrote in an editorial on May 21, 1846: "Our Editors (of the Anglo-Indian journals) are for the most part at home on the subjects they handle; some are deeply versed in the history of the people and the country in which they live—its capabilities and its wants..."

The qualifications necessary for a successful editor in India became the topic of long discussions in some of the leading Indian papers (viz. the *Bengal Harkaru*, the *Morning Chronicle*, the *Bombay Times*, the *Bombay Gazette*, the *Bombay Telegraph and Courier* and the *Madras Athenaeum*) during the months of October to December 1851. The discussion arose over the failure of the "Imported Editors" (the term was applied to mean the gentlemen who came to India on appointment to editorial chairs, solely to conduct newspapers. Such gentlemen were (as we get

from the editorial articles in the *Bombay Times*, September 11, 1851, and November 15, 1851, extracted in the *Calcutta Star*, September 23, November 26, 1851) Mr. Meed and Mr. Bruce of the *Madras Athenaeum*, Mr. Burr and Mr. Glover of the *Madras Spectator*, Mr. T. Holcroft of the *Bombay Telegraph & Courier* and Mr. McKenna of the *Bombay Times*. And in this connection on November 26, 1851, the *Morning Chronicle* wrote editorially on the qualifications for the editorial chair : "There is no room for fine writing, classics, and profound learning in the columns of a daily paper in any country, and least of all in this. The great desiderata in an Indian daily paper are, news early and diversified ; clear, rational and sensible exposition and view of local matters and of the affairs of the Government services, the public interests and wishes, and the different departments of the administration."

The character of the man, both private and public, occupying the editorial chair was also an item for consideration as qualification—an essential item. "...how can we, or any one, dispense with a pure and unblemished name for him who undertakes to guide the public mind, direct the thoughts and opinions of the multitude, and adjudicate upon social and political questions, and decide upon points of principle, honor and morality ?"—commented the *Morning Chronicle* editorially.²⁰

A native gentleman (a reader of English newspapers) thus gave out his conception of the editor's qualification in a letter to the editor of the *Hindu Intelligencer* on January 16, 1854,— "Truthfulness and liberality of opinion ought to be reckoned among the most requisite qualities of a public journalist. An Editor without these qualities is looked upon by the public as a reporter of falsities and a dealer in fiction, unworthy of the high rank which he holds in the social circle. He who allows the instigations of his spite and calumny to acquire an ascendancy over the dictates of reason and humanity, forfeits his public credit as a just punishment for his unreasonable prejudices against a particular party."

Considering the long list of failures in India we may agree with the editor of the *Citizen* who wrote that "Editorship in

20. *Morning Chronicle*, October 24, 1851.

India" was "almost the only profession in the East where success depends on ability" and that the "more eminent members" of the order (such as James Silk Buckingham of the *Calcutta Journal*, James Sutherland of the *Bengal Harkaru*, Dr. John Grant of the *India Gazette*, Rev. James Bryce of the *Asiatic Mirror* and the *John Bull*, J.H. Stocqueler of the *Englishman* and J.C. Marshman of the *Friend of India*) "may claim a position as to intellect and attainment second to those of none in the land—superior most assuredly to a vast proportion of those who have risen to the rank of the governing classes by interest or seniority in the Service."²¹

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The editors occasionally had also to face hazards of personal violence for conscientious performance of their duties. We may cite a few glaring cases :

First, the case of James Silk Buckingham of the *Calcutta Journal*. In the *Calcutta Journal* for September 30, 1819, appeared the "proceedings of the General Vestry Meeting of Inhabitants of Calcutta, assembled at the Town Hall on the 22nd September, 1819."

And in the *Calcutta Journal*, October 2, 1819 came out the following :

"Assault Extraordinary : On the evening of Thursday last . . . when . . . the Editor of this Journal was taking an airing in his buggy with a Friend. The young person who had distinguished himself at the Meeting at the Town Hall, by advocating the cause of the Select Vestry, and whose speech was reported . . . happened to pass by on horse-back at the time . . . Immediately after passing the buggy which was proceeding at a slow pace . . . the youngman on horse-back suddenly wheeled round, exclaiming 'Your name is Buckingham, I believe' and coming up behind him . . . struck him with a horse-whip.

"The blow was instantly returned by Mr. Buckingham with severe cuts from the buggy-whip laid on with such affect as to induce the assaulter to drop behind, after which he said 'My name is Darwell.'

"A second attack was apparently contemplated by Mr. Darwell, who again advanced from behind . . . but the parties

21. *Citizen*, July 26, 1852.

being now more guarded, invited his nearer approach. Mr. Buckingham, 'Do you wish anything further. If you do' 'I'll give it to you'... To this Mr. Darwell made no reply... The parties in the buggy continued the usual drive... Mr. Darwell was not seen again..."

The second instance also concerned the editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, Mr. Buckingham, who thus related the case²² :

"...an individual, Dr. Jamieson...received from the Indian Government an appointment as superintendent of the school for native doctors ; and as the same individual already held no less than six different appointments each of them sufficient to occupy the time and attention of any one man, I wrote in the *Calcutta Journal* an article tending to show, that even admitting Dr. Jamieson, to be the most clever and the most meritorious man in the world, still, as he could not by any process expand 24 hours into 48, the mere impossibility of his commanding sufficient time to perform the duties of his new office without neglecting those of his old ones, ought to be deemed a valid objection against his being confirmed in it."

Dr. Jamieson took mortal offence at this and challenged Mr. Buckingham to a duel, which fortunately ended without any injury to any one.²³

The third incident of our citation relates to Mr. John Newmarch, editor of the *Citizen*, in the early fifties. We thus get it from the pen of Mr. Newmarch²⁴ : "On Wednesday (14. 7. 1852) morning Mr. Edmund Onslow rushed into my office, where I was busy perusing some law papers ; and, before I had time to rise from my chair, gave me a single cut over the shoulders with a horse-whip." The employees then in the office came and thrashed Mr. Onslow.

The case went upto the police and dragged on disadvantageously for Mr. Newmarch.²⁵

22. Reply to Question No. 613, of the examination of James Silk Buckingham on July 1, 1834; Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1834, Vol. 8, paper 601, p. 64.

23. *Calcutta Journal*, August, 7, 1822, p. 521.

24. *Citizen*, July 16, 1852.

25. *Citizen*, July 17, 1852.

The reason for this assault was thus given out by Mr. Newmarch in the *Citizen* on July 17, 1852 : Capt. Onslow insulted Baboo Peary Chund Mittra, the then Librarian of the Calcutta Public Library. Mr. Newmarch took side with Baboo Peary Chund and wrote in his paper vindicating him against Capt. Onslow which enraged the latter and goaded him to this act of violence.

Fourthly, the following notice of caution given out by the *Madras Examiner* on August 17, 1852, for the editors in India also highlights the issue :

"We advise all Indian editors to keep a sharp look out, when they happen to be in the neighbourhood of Chandernagore or Pondicherry. By a recent law, all persons, foreigners or otherwise, who in their own countries commit acts which in France would incur punishment, may be punished when found in French territory. The Indian papers have frequently published opinions about Louis Napoleon which in France would have exposed them to punishment. Ergo, if any of them go to Chandernagore they may be seized, tried, and imprisoned, unless the Government chooses to risk a war for their liberation."

Finally, we can take note of the following notice in the *Hindu Patriot* of March 5, 1857 :

"Another correspondent...report an instance of an editor of a native paper having been imprisoned on a charge of adultery trumped up by a Magistrate in revenge for the publication of some truths unpalatable to the official."

The Printer

In a newspaper Establishment in our period of study next to the editor stood the (head) printer with his contingent of the compositors and the pressmen. J. H. Stocqueler in his article 'The Calcutta Press' gives us the pen picture of the printer, compositors and the pressmen engaged in printing a daily newspaper.¹ That is a lengthy one and we cite extracts from it for an idea as to the daily duties of these press employees :

"The Editor...on reaching his office...delivers to him (the head printer) such manuscript, or extracts from other papers and periodicals, as are to constitute the contents of

1. *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine and Review*, No. III, October 1833, pp. 424-425.

his journal for the day following. The printer then distributes this matter or copy (as it is technically called) to the compositors...each...to set up about a column...to fill what is called a galley—a narrow brass or copper slap, with a raised wooden edge, occupying three sides, to prevent the type from falling out. While in this form impressions are taken off on strips of papers...and the galley proof (as such impressions are termed) is then delivered to...a reader, to examine and correct...superintended by the head printer. The galley proofs...are collected together late in the evening, when there appears no probability of more news, correspondence, or advertisements reaching the office... Editor or his deputy... (then) selects such portion of the matter...as it is important and should appear in the paper of the following day, and indicates the order in which it is to be arrayed. From this, the subordinate printer proceeds to make up, by dividing the galleys into columns and placing them in consecutive order, four on a frame, so as to form a page of the paper. When the four pages are thus arranged...they are placed two and two on a flat stone belonging to the press...locked up in an iron frame. The pressmen cover them with ink by means of balls composed of sheep skins and filled with cotton or coarse wool... A proof impression of the pages is then taken off and...carefully read by the head printer and the Editor after which the printing of the whole impression commences. Two Presses are simultaneously employed in this work and three pressmen to each. One Press strikes off pages 1 and 4 and the sheet is then transferred to the other where pages 2 and 3 are printed. One pressman at each press is engaged in laying the paper on the frisket or upper frame, another in drawing it under the weight and producing the pressure, while the third, the devil, stands by with his balls to supply the type with fresh layers of ink. In this way the work proceeds until the whole edition...is struck off and delivered to the peon in charge for the night..." (generally it would be the early dawn when the printing would be completed).

The printer of a large newspaper Establishment would be "generally an experienced European"² but not always as we get

2. Ibid., p. 424.

from the *Bengal Harkaru* which advertised in its column on May 24, 1825, for a printer for its own Establishment—"if educated in England, Scotland or America, it would be a recommendation, but no objection would be made to an experienced country printer."

The volume of business attended to and the extent of supervision exercised by a printer in a big newspaper Establishment can be guessed from an advertisement (calling candidates for appointment in an Establishment where a daily and a weekly newspaper and several periodicals were printed and book and other job works were constantly undertaken) appearing in the *Bengal Harkaru* on May 24, 1825. He would be required to keep from 80 to 100 compositors at constant work upon about 10,000 lbs. of Type and be held responsible for the whole office.

Besides exercising supervision over the compositors and pressmen the printer was also entrusted with the task to receive advertisements, supervise delivery of the paper to the subscribers and to attend all directions respecting them.³ Such arrangement continued all along our period.⁴ In one newspaper Establishment at least (in the *John Bull* subsequently renamed as the *Englishman*) the printer had to combine in his person the functions of both a reporter and a publisher.⁵ In the earlier period when the editor could hardly get a Deputy or an Assistant, the printer had to provide him with a relief in case of sudden exigencies (as when the editor would be suddenly laid down in bed with fever.).⁶

We have no definite information as to the pay of a printer in many a newspaper Establishment of the time. In a monthly account of disbursements in the *John Bull* Establishment we get an item of expenditure of Rs. 300/- against "Head Printer and

3. *Calcutta Gazette*, January 3, 1788; *Calcutta Chronicle*, January 31, 1792; *Asiatic Mirror*, May 22, 1793.

4. *Bengal Harkaru*, July 1, 1829; *Weekly Examiner* extracted in the *Friend of India*, March 19, 1840; *Morning Chronicle*, February 23, 1853.

5. *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine and Review*, October 1839, No. III, p. 432.

6. *India Gazette*, July 24, 1824.

Reporter.”⁷ The “liberal salary” which the printer in the Bengal Harkaru Establishment used to get (along with “a comfortable apartment on the Premises” if “a single man”)⁸ was possibly not much above this and definitely much below Rs. 500/-. For, Mr. John Gray, the printer of the *Bengal Harkaru* in spite of his long association with that Press applied for the post of the Superintendent of the Military Orphan Press in Calcutta,⁹ carrying a salary of Rs. 500/- per mensem and a house to live in.¹⁰ A salary varying between Rs. 300 to Rs. 500 per mensem was, however, not considered as good remuneration for a highly qualified printer. For, we learn from the *Morning Chronicle* that a “first rate Printer in England would not come over to India for being appointed on a salary” like that.¹¹

The Compositors

Next to the printer stood the compositors. In the *Bengal Harkaru* Establishment in 1825 there were as many as 80 to 100 of them¹² and in the *John Bull* Establishment in 1833 there were no less than 31 ; of these 16 for the *John Bull* (a Daily), 5 for the *Oriental Observer* (a Weekly) and 10 for the *Sporting Magazine* and the *United Service Journal* (monthlies)¹³ with a circulation of 306, 230, 270 and 130 copies respectively.¹⁴

It would appear that the rate of payment for the compositors for a daily newspaper was higher than the same for a Weekly or Monthly. Thus the compositors for the *John Bull* were paid at the rate of about Rs. 27/- per mensem while the rate for the others was Rs. 14/- per month.¹⁵

The compositors were mostly “Portuguese of the country

7. *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine and Review*, October 1833, No. III, p. 415.

8. *Bengal Harkaru*, May 24, 1825, Advertisement.

9. *Morning Chronicle*, July 25, 1851.

10. *Ibid.*, October 9, 1851.

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Bengal Harkaru*, May 24, 1825, Advertisement.

13. *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine and Review*, No. III, October 1833, p. 415.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 423.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 415.

(i.e., Indo-Portuguese in origin) and Hindoos.”¹⁶ The Hindoo composers could not read English at all but acquired “surprising expertness” in their work.¹⁷ It so appears that gradually the native Hindoo composers outnumbered the Christians. This possibility is borne out by the notices for Puja holidays in the *Friend of India*¹⁸ and the *Calcutta Christian Advocate*.⁹¹

Mr. James Hume, proprietor-editor of the *Calcutta Star* was not satisfied with the performance of his native (Hindoo) composers who “make a sorry work of manuscript copy.”²⁰ But nonetheless he could not dispense with them. May be they were either comparatively cheap in remuneration or the Indo-Portuguese composers were limited in number.

It needs to be mentioned that the performance of the composers here, as a whole, was not rated high in London and this we get in a contemporary London publication, the *Asiatic Journal*.²¹

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In the columns of the contemporary newspapers some stray references are available which would go to show that the press employees as a unit of labour force became self-conscious of their united strength in advance of the time. They would take recourse to the Trade Union means of joint representation and strike to get their grievances redressed or to gain their ends. As illustration on this point we may first refer to the notice in the Extra Issue of the *Calcutta Gazette* on March 8, 1816, that “in consequence of the carrying into effect of some necessary curtailments²² in the expenses of the establishment” a great number of

16. Reply to Question No. 1130 of the Examination of James Sutherland on March 16, 1832, Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1831-32, Vol. 9, Paper 735 I, p. 126.

17. Reply to Question of 1133, *ibid*.

18. *Friend of India*, October 16, 1845, p. 657.

19. *Calcutta Christian Advocate*, October 4, 1851, p. 471.

20. *Calcutta Star*, December 26, 1846.

21. “*The Periodical Literature of British India*”, in the *Asiatic Journal*, June 1825, p. 792.

22. Possibly this curtailment became necessary due to the fact that since the publication of the *Government Gazette* in June 1815, the *Calcutta Gazette* lost the sole right of publication of the Government Notifications and Sheriff's Sale Notice involving a considerable income.

the hands employed in the Establishment "suddenly embraced the resolution of striking work." Secondly, we may refer to a notice in the *Indian Standard* in February, 1854²³ : "Last week increased wages were demanded and refused and all our hands struck work." The third incident to which we shall refer took place at a time between the above two incidents and principally relates to the *Englishman* and the *Bengal Harkaru*. In October, 1839, Mr. J.H. Stocqueler (the proprietor-editor of the *Englishman*) by application to the Government got an order on the General Post Office that whenever the overland European mail might reach the Post Office the packets of newspaper addressed to the editors should at once be delivered to their men. It would enable the editors to print the chief heads of intelligence from those in the papers for the next day which would save them the expenses of 'Extra Issues.' But this arrangement was highly disadvantageous to the Press employees particularly the compositors. There was no certainty as to the date and time of the arrival of the mail. In consequence of this arrangement it would require their prolonged presence in office and curtailment of the hours of their rest at home. The new arrangement was immediately introduced in the *Englishman* office. Apprehending the introduction of this in the *Bengal Harkaru* Office also the compositors of that office submitted an "Appeal" to the editor for not taking such an action and issued a call in an aggressive language to Mr. Stocqueler's compositors—"Let not a few paltry rupees induce you to sell that precious boon you possess—your invaluable health. When racked with disease or disabled by your exertions, Mr. Stocqueler will neither feed nor clothe you, however he may take advantage of your present ability to serve . . . Give to your employer all the labour he can in reason expect from you for your remuneration and more too ; but let no unjust and unreasonable being, screw from you, as it were, your heart's blood, drop by drop." Apprehending troubles Mr. S. Smith (proprietor of the *Bengal Harkaru*) did not introduce the new arrangement in his office and after a time this was also given up by Mr. Stocqueler.²⁴

23. *Citizen*, February 24, 1854.

24. All these could be gleaned from (a) letter of Mr. J.H. Stocqueler to Mr. Smith dt. October 7, 1839, (b) letter of Mr. H.T. Prinsep,

Pressmen and Harcarahs (Delivery Peons)

Next to the compsoitors came the pressmen and the harcarahs or the Delivery Peons—both belonging to the rank of unskilled labour and as such poorly paid. In the *John Bull* printing Establishment there were 13 pressmen who were paid a total amount of Rs. 83/- as remuneration per mensem.²⁵ Practical experience in their work and capacity for hard labour were the only assets in the profession of a pressman. And we have earlier described them on their duties along with (head) printer.

The harcarahs were also poorly paid. In the same Establishment of the *Jorn Bull* there were seven of them and the total charge for them was only Rs. 44/- per month.¹ But their role was by no means unimportant. They served as the primary link between the management and the subscribers. Fair name of any newspaper Establishment depended, at least partly, on them. Timely and punctual delivery of papers to the subscribers was an object to be aimed at by the proprietors and insisted upon by the subscribers even in those days. For most of the subscribers (excepting those who resided at a distance and got their copies by post) timely delivery of paper depended exclusively on the harcarahs.

Originally service of the harcarahs appears to have been confined to the city of Calcutta. In 1802 Government established daily dawkh to be carried between Hooghly and Calcutta touching the Settlements at Chandernagore, Barrackpore etc., starting from Hooghly very night at 9 O'clock and reaching Calcutta the ensuing morning.² Gradually the newspaper harcarahs were also introduced along this route for daily despatch of paper upto Chinsurah.

The services of these harcarahs were not always upto satisfaction of the management regarding punctuality in delivery and

Secretary to Government, dt. October 2, 1839, (c) letter of Mr. Smith to Mr. Stocqueler, dt. October 7, 1839, (d) Editorial in the *Englishman*, dt. October 8, 1839, republished in the *Bengal Harkaru* on October 9, 1839.

25. *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine and Review*, No. III, October 1833, p. 415.

1. *Ibid.*

2. Notification in the *Calcutta Gazette*, June 24, 1802.

often we come across such notices—"Gentlemen in Calcutta... to whom the Peons may not deliver the Paper in due time, are requested to send Notice."³

The following two notices from the *Bengal Harkaru* in 1825 would give us an idea of the problem which the management had to face on account of the harcarahs and the various steps taken to grapple with it.

(A) "*The Bengal Harkaru* is or ought to be delivered every morning at 6 O'clock in Calcutta and at nearly the same hour in the Suburbs at Dum Dum and Barrackpore, as papers for the most distant subscribers are first despatched. A list of the Peons and the hours at which the paper ought to be delivered everywhere within the limits we have fixed for distribution by our Peons shall be speedily published... The hour of publication shall in future be invariably stated in a notice in the Editorial Column, to enable our readers to know whether the delay, if any, is occasioned by late publication...or from the negligence of the Peons in delivery..."⁴

In compliance with the above, since the next issue of the *Bengal Harkaru* on May 20, 1825, and for a long time thereafter, the following notice appeared indicating the time of publication of the paper and its delivery to the harcarahs :

"*The Bengal Harkaru* of this morning sent to Press at 1 O'clock. The publication for despatch to Cossipore, Dum Dum, Barrackpore, Serampore, Chandernagore, Chinsurah and Hooghly commenced at 3 O'clock and the Environs and in Calcutta at 5 O'clock."

(B) "By the kindness of some of our subscribers it has been brought to our notice that the *Bengal Harkaru* are not frequently delivered in Calcutta and its adjincies at such an early hour as our arrangements are calculated to effect... We have found, that the peons are in the lavish habits of selling the *Harkaru*...to those who are mean enough to procure in this fertile way what they either will not or cannot procure in

3. *Asiatic Mirror*, December 20, 1797.

4. *Bengal Harkaru*, May, 19, 1825.

the regular one. We are likewise pretty well informed that some people...abusefully obtain the daily perusal of a subscriber's paper... Among other methods of prevention of those infamous practices, we some months ago gave the Office Peons a livery green edged with red and square Chuprass, upon which is engraved the 'Harkaru Library and Peon' in English, Persian and Bengalee. The Peon's number is also conspicuously placed in the centre of the plate, and he is directed never to appear without that. We have likewise printed cards which ought to be presented by the Peons to the subscribers out of Calcutta, every Monday morning, for the signature of such subscribers in the environs as will take the trouble to signify upon them the hour at which they received the paper during the preceeding week... To our contemporaries likewise some of the foregoing remarks may prove beneficial and induce them to join us in eradicating a system which is alike injurious to their interests and to ours. They will be surprised to hear that we have heard and firmly believe to be true, that arrangements are made between the Peons of the different Houses, by which one Peon...delivers on certain occasions, and in certain places, all the papers, although each office, we are aware, keeps an ample establishment for this single duty."⁵

The dissatisfaction over irregular and delayed delivery persisted all along our period. In 1846, we get the *Calcutta Star* crying out in despair⁶—"We know enough of our own peons, and we dare say—our Contemporaries can say the same—to be able to understand the difficulties, almost insuperable which stand in the way of regular delivery..." Then, in 1849, we get the *Hindu Intelligencer* to notify for subscribers that they would "be pleased to intimate any irregularity in the delivery of this paper."⁷

In 1857, the *Dacca News* (a paper published from Dacca in the Presidency of Bengal) opened up counter delivery to solve the problem of irregular and delayed delivery by the peons.⁸

5. *Bengal Harkaru*, May 30, 1825.

6. *Calcutta Star*, September 26, 1846, extracted in the *Friend of India*, October 1, 1846 under "Contemporary Selections", p. 631.

7. *Hindu Intelligencer*, January 22, 1849.

8. *Dacca News*, July 4, 1857, p. 246.

Reporters

In our period the newspaper reporters had no very respectable standing in the Press Establishment. This, according to Mr. J.H. Stocqueler was so, first because "public deliberations are as yet too rare and unimportant in Calcutta to furnish such constant employment to reporters as to induce them by perseverance, or enable them by practice to attain to any great perfection;" and secondly, in the affairs of the natives "we have not learnt to take any very great interest."⁹

Further, from Stocqueler we learn that there were then two methods of payment for a reporter—either to give him a small salary and to allow him to "occasionally employing himself otherwise" (i.e., to engage him on a part time basis) or "to remunerate him so much per line in type" which "yields in a general way, about 180 rupees per mensem."¹⁰ We have already seen that the head printer in the John Bull Establishment also acted as its reporter. In the same way Mr. S. Arnot was engaged by Mr. James Silk Buckingham in the Calcutta Journal Establishment (a) to make report of the proceedings in the Supreme Court, (b) to write essays for the journal and (c) to correct matters for the press (proof reading)¹¹ at a monthly salary amounting to Rs. 200 to Rs. 250.¹² In 1839, the Military Orphan Society engaged a reporter (probably a part time hand) for the *Calcutta Courier* on a monthly payment of rupees fifty only.¹³

The situation might have improved for the reporters towards the close of our period—when the Anglo-Indian papers had to allow larger coverage for the affairs of the natives. But we have not much detailed information on this point.

Newspaper Proprietors

It is a pertinent question for us to probe—who were the proprietors of the newspapers in this period? The answer that we get

9. *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine and Review*, No. III, October 1833, p. 432.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 432.

11. Reply to Question No. 213 by Mr. S. Arnot before Select Committee Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1834, Vol. 8, Paper 601, p. 11.

12. *Ibid.*, Reply to Question No. 211, p. 11.

13. *Friend of India*, February 28, 1839, p. 133.

in a general way is that prior to the order of the Court of Directors, notified in Calcutta in 1826,¹⁴ prohibiting relation of their servants with the Press, most or at least many of these were under the proprietorship of the servants of the Company. We have very meagre direct information on this point. But the circumstantial evidence goes to support this contention.

In 1825, the Court of Directors ordered prohibition on the association of their servants with the Press (except periodical works of literary and scientific nature) on pain even of dismissal from service.¹⁵ But a long period of 6 months had to be granted for its implementation so that their servants could get back the full amount of their investment. The order must have concerned many of their servants for a considerable sum.

The servants of the Company possibly turned to the Press for investment of their savings with the expectation of good return both in money and prestige.

The association of the servants of the Company with the Press prior to the Charter Act of 1813, was possibly a necessity. The arrivals in India from Europe was then strictly restricted by the East India Company in the interest of their monopoly. Consequently, of the English population in India the elites—in birth, association and refinement—were mostly the Company's Civil Servants. So, in public eyes, the estimation for any paper would be higher by the association of Company's servants with it. Possibly, this was the consideration for Hicky to describe himself in his *Gazette* as the "First and late Printer to the Hon'ble Company."¹⁶ The account of his career as we get in the *Memoirs of William Hicky*,¹⁷ the contemporary attorney in Calcutta, and as given out in Buckland's *Dictionary of Oriental Biography*,¹⁸ do not contain any mention of him in the service of the East India Company.

The not very high estimation in which the editors and newspaper writers in India (other than those who were also in the

14. Notification in the General Department dated May 11, 1826, published in the *Government Gazette*, May 18, 1826.

15. Ibid.

16. Hicky used this expression in his paper since the issue No. XI, dated April 1, 1780.

17. *Memoirs of William Hickey*, op. cit., pp. 174-176.

18. C.E. Buckland, op. cit., p. 200.

service of the Company) were held would be evident from an article on the Indian Press in the *Morning Post* (a London paper) in 1806.¹⁹ In it the editors and the writers of newspapers of the time were derogatorily described as the person who “smuggled their way to India on board of foreign ships, or in the capacity of gentlemen’s servants, on board our ships of war and Indiamen” and “reside in India contrary to the law.”

Hence it was natural that the association of the Company’s servants with newspapers was eagerly sought for as enhancing the prestige of the papers.

The extent of association of Government Officers with the Press in the early part of the 19th century is borne out by the statement of Buckingham in his examination before the Select Committee on the Suppression of the *Calcutta Journal*²⁰—“there were then [in June 1818, when Buckingham landed in Calcutta] existing in Calcutta five of six different newspapers, each of which was conducted by an editor in the service of the Government.”

The situation was already undergoing a change on enactment of the Charter Act of 1813²¹: “The Council of India Act of 1813, led to influx and settlement of persons unconnected with the service of the Hon’ble Company—free merchants and mariners. But as colonisation was not permitted most of them did neither seek nor except a voice, under any shape in the Government of the country, nor lay claim to a control over its measures, even as a part of the English public. But there were a few exceptions and to these the Public Press presented itself as high road to fame and wealth.”

The two most notables of these “few exceptions” were James Silk Buckingham and James Sutherland. Both came to India piloting a ship, took to journalism and thereby immortalised their name in the history of English Press in India—Buckingham for his *Calcutta Journal* and Sutherland through his asso-

19. *Morning Post*, extracted in the *Asiatic Annual Register*, 1806, Part I, Political & Commercial Papers, p. 67.

20. Reply to Question No. 613 of Buckingham’s examination on July 1, 1834; Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1834, Vol. 8, Paper 601, p. 50.

21. *Quarterly Oriental Magazine*, September 1824, p. v.

ciation with Buckingham and then with the *Calcutta Chronicle*, *Bengal Chronicle*, *Bengal Harkaru* and *Bengal Herald*.²²

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How far was investment in the Press profitable during this period? For a reply to this we need to ascertain the capital that had to be invested for setting up a paper. We have little specific information on this point. In his *Good Old Days of John Company*, W.H. Carey wrote that if anyone "intend to set up a newspaper, he must possess very considerable capital; for that purpose, six, eight or ten thousand pounds were requisite."²³ This however appears to be an exaggeration in view of the information that we have regarding Hicky's *Bengal Gazette* and the *Calcutta Journal* of Buckingham.

The circumstances in which Hicky commenced the *Bengal Gazette* appears to be unrealistic for an assumption that he could command such huge capital for his paper.²⁴ According to Mr. William Hickey, the contemporary Attorney in Calcutta, J.A. Hicky was in Civil Jail for upwards of two years as an insolvent debtor. He had by this time seven year's residence in India. During the period of confinement he came across a treatise from which he learnt printing. On his coming out of prison he succeeded in cutting a rough set of types with which he printed hand-bills and common advertisements. "Having scrapped together by this means a few hundred rupees he sent to England for a regular and proper set of materials for printing." With these he set on foot his *Bengal Gazette* in January 1780. It does not appear that subsequently Hicky made any considerable financial investment on the *Bengal Gazette*.

Mr. Buckingham commenced his celebrated *Calcutta Journal* with a capital investment of Rs. 30,000/-—and this sum he could get as "contributions being from 30 Gentlemen who each advanced 1000 Rupees as a Loan."²⁵

Return from the investment on newspaper—if the paper could

22. Biographical Sketch of James Sutherland, Esquire, in the *Calcutta Monthly Journal and General Register of Occurrences throughout the British Dominions in the East*, No. 1, 1839, pp. 18-19.

23. W.H. Carey, op. cit., p. 286.

24. *Memoirs of William Hickey*, op. cit., p. 176.

25. *Calcutta Journal*, June 26, 1821, p. 679.

be made a success—was enviable. Hicky could carry on his *Bengal Gazette* for about two years and a quarter. And according to his contemporary, William Hickey, the emolument arising from it “became immense and with common prudence he would have made a large fortune.”¹

The *Calcutta Chronicle* was set up in January 1786. In November, 1792, we get the proprietor bewailing that he had already arrear bills for Rs. 60,000/- and requested all the concerned parties for early payment.² This huge amount definitely represents a part of the proprietor's income out of his investment in the concern.

Buckingham's success with the *Calcutta Journal* was spectacular and he could refund his loan within a short period as he himself said—“in the short space of three months its return of profit were sufficient to enable me to repay the whole of the 30,000 rupees advanced and leave a surplus beyond that in my possession.”³ Moreover, by July 1822, when Buckingham issued 400 shares on the *Calcutta Journal* each priced at Rs. 1000/-, the assets of the *Journal* were “at a moderate estimate 1,00,000 rupees.”⁴

About fifteen years later the return from the investment on the *Bengal Harkaru* was calculated by a contemporary editor to be “little short of 20 per cent on the annual outlay.”⁵ The capital outlay on the *Bengal Harkaru* was also considerable. In 1821 Mr. Samuel Smith purchased it at Rs. 1,00,000/- and in the next four years he further added Rs. 1,00,000/- to that investment.⁶ We may well suppose that this addition was out of the profit earned by the proprietor.

J.H. Stocqueler purchased the *John Bull* in 1833, (retitled it as the *Englishman* since October 1, 1833) and in 1842, he left

1. *Memoirs of William Hickey*, op. cit., p. 176.

2. *Calcutta Chronicle*, November 27 to December 25, 1792.

3. Reply to Question No. 613 of Buckingham's examination on July 1, 1834; Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1834, Vol. 8, Paper 601, p. 51.

4. Reply to Question No. 639 of Mr. T. Love Peacock's examination on July 31, 1834, before Select Committee; *ibid*, p. 160.

5. *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine and Review*, No. III, October 1833, p. 410.

6. *Bengal Harkaru*, September 10, 1825.

India after disposing of the *Englishman* and we get it from his own pen—"The *Englishman* which nine years previously had cost £ 1,800, was now sold for £ 13,000; after yielding me a good income for four or five of the final years."⁷ All the investments he made for the *Englishman* since its purchase were out of his income from the original investment.

Such huge profits could be reaped in spite of very limited circulation of the papers of the time. That was possible because of the high rate of subscription and the income from advertisements. In the earlier period when the newspapers were published weekly subscription rate was normally one rupee per copy. In the later period the standard subscription for daily newspapers like the *Bengal Harkaru*, the *India Gazette*, the *John Bull* or the *Englishman* (with six issues in a week, there being no issue on Sunday) was rupees six per mensem or rupees sixty four per annum, if paid in advance. The comparative loss for a daily paper on account of subscription was well compensated by the enhanced income from advertisements. With six issues in a week a daily paper could contain advertisements six times more than a weekly could do and would have an enhanced income from this source to that extent.

In this connection it is to be kept in mind that the Darwinian law of the survival of the fittest reigned supreme in the contemporary world of Indian Press. The long list of failures would bear out this point. There was constant shifting of support. Thus, on successful appearance of the *Calcutta Journal* disappeared a number of papers that successfully held the ground for decades till then. The most notable of these were the *Asiatic Mirror* and the *Oriental Star*. Any miscalculation on the part of the conductors in catering to the taste of the subscribers, any indiscretion on their part to support the popular cause (be it in the sectional interest of some or in the general interest of the government and society) would bring ruin even to an established and popular paper like the *John Bull*. This point had been well illustrated by J.H. Stocqueler in his "The Calcutta Press" (1833).⁸

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7. J.H. Stocqueler, op. cit., p. 124.

8. *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine and Review*, No. III, October 1833, pp. 413-14.

The monthly Establishment charge for any first rate paper of this period was quite considerable. "Monthly Disbursements of the *Calcutta Journal*" amounted to "nearly Eight Thousand Rupees."⁹ Of course this was not comparable with any other paper. Buckingham charged the highest rate for his *Journal* and for keeping up its high standard also maintained the costliest Establishment. For the month of June 1822 we get from Buckingham the following account of receipts and expenses on account of the *Calcutta Journal*.¹⁰

Receipts :

For Town Subscription	...	Rs. 4,263
For Country Subscription	...	Rs. 5,487
For Advertisement	...	Rs. 3,419
For Sale of Asiatic Dept.	...	Rs. 0,302
Amount of Madras & Bombay Bill	...	Rs. 1,067
Total :	...	<hr/> Rs. 14,538 <hr/>

Expenditure :

Consumption of Printing Paper	...	Rs. 1,038
Postage paid on Newspaper & letters	...	Rs. 1,345
Office expenses in various outlays	...	Rs. 271
Office Sircars and Translators	...	Rs. 140
House Rent	...	Rs. 500
Printer's Bill, for wages etc.	...	Rs. 1,300
Salary of Accountant	...	Rs. 270
Salary of the Librarian (<i>The Calcutta Journal</i> Library was a rich one and open to subscribers)	...	Rs. 135
Salary of the Head Printer	...	Rs. 135
Allowance for Editor	...	Rs. 1,200
Allowance for Reporter & Corrector	...	Rs. 300
Renewal of Stock	...	Rs. 1,000
Engravings and Newspapers	...	Rs. 500
Total :	...	<hr/> Rs. 8,134 <hr/>

9. *Calcutta Journal*, August 8, 1820, p. 466.

10. *Ibid.*, August 24, 1822, p. 763.

The Bengal Harkaru Establishment was also a large one and J.H. Stocqueler in 1833 calculated its annual charge to be exceeding rupees one lac of rupees.¹¹ But besides the *Bengal Harkaru* and some other periodicals such as the *Calcutta Literary Gazette*, the *Bengal Chronicle*, many other miscellaneous publications like Army List, Annual Directory, Price Currents Shipping Lists, Souvenirs, Almanacs, etc., were undertaken there.

The charges of the John Bull Establishment in 1833, wert as follows¹² :

	Per Month : Rs.	Per Annum : Rs.
1 Head Printer and Reporter (both in the same person)	... 300	3,600.
16 Compositors for the <i>John Bull</i>	... 435	} 7,824
5 Compositors for the <i>Oriental Observer</i>	... 70	
10 Compositors for the <i>Sporting Magazine</i> and the <i>United Service Journal</i>	... 147	
Sircar Establishmest	... 160	1,920.
13 Pressmen	... 83	996.
11 Peons	... 66	792.
7 Distributors	... 44	528.
Duptory, Carpenter, Sweeper, Bhisty (Water carriers) and Darwans	... 38	456.
Editorial remuneration	... 500	6,000.
Newspapers and Periodicals subscribed for use in office	...	500.
Paper for Printing	...	7,500.
Office Rent	... 170	2,040.
Postage, Stationary, etc.	...	500.
Contingencies	...	500.
TOTAL ::	...	33,156.

We may also calculate the annual receipt of the same Establishment at this period (period of low popularity before trans-

11. *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine and Review*, No. III, October 1833, p. 409.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 415.

formation into the *Englishman*) which we believe is fairly accurate. This was as follows :-

Annual subscription for the			
<i>John Bull</i> @ Rs. 64/- p.m.	= Rs. 64 x 281	(copies	
		annually	
	= Rs. 17,984.	subscribed).	
-Do- for <i>Sporting Magazine</i> :	Rs. 16 x 270		
	= Rs. 4,320.	-Do-	
-Do- for <i>East India United</i>			
<i>Service Journal</i> :	Rs. 8 x 130	-Do-	
	= Rs. 1,040.		
	<hr/>		
	Rs. 23,344.		
Realisation on account of			
advertisement (@ $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of the			
subscription realised) ;	Rs. 7,781.		
	<hr/>		
	Rs. 31,125.		
	<hr/>		

With the above is to be added the printing and publishing charge realised from the proprietor of the *Oriental Observer* which was then printed and published at the John Bull Press under editorial supervision of the editor of the *John Bull* "for the benefit of the widow of J. Pritchard" the late printer of the John Bull Establishment.

Correctness of this estimate of receipt is borne out by Mr. Stocqueler who admitted that the John Bull Establishment at this period was "barely able" to meet its expenses.¹³

In the early months of 1846 the prospect of profit out of investment in the Press became a topic for speculation in the columns of the papers of the time. And according to the editor of the *Calcutta Star* (fairly renowned Mr. James Hume) it was then not so profitable as was in the past :¹⁴ "There have been

13. *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine and Review*, No. III, October 1833, p. 416.

14. *Calcutta Star*, April 4, 1846.

times when men might and ought to have made a fortune with their papers, but they have gone by. . . The increase of Newspaper subscribers has not been proportionate either to the increase of journals or the increase of expense attendant upon them."

Without giving out the details of expenditure he calculated the Establishment charge for a daily paper at Rs. 5,000/- a month.¹⁵

Attempts were made in the last half of our period to ascertain the circulation of English newspapers and periodicals. In November, 1829, the *India Gazette* published an estimate of the total circulation of newspapers in this Presidency—daily, ter-weekly and weekly—which was 3100.¹⁶ Thereafter in 1833 the editor of the *John Bull* published another estimate : "There are 2205 subscribers (and perhaps 5000 readers) to the daily papers and their ter-weekly editions and 1500 subscribers (this was just as approximation ; the actual figure as can be calculated out of the details furnished rises upto 1522 as shown below) to other bi-weekly, ter-weekly and weekly journals."¹⁷ The details of this estimate were :

*Daily papers and their ter-weekly editions :*¹⁸

	Daily edition :	Ter-weekly edition :	Total :
<i>Bengal Harkaru and Chronicle</i>	726	208	934
<i>India Gazette</i>	373	195	568
<i>Calcutta courier</i>	175	222	397
<i>John Bull</i>	306	-	306
Total :	1,580	625	2,205.

15. Ibid.

16. *India Gazette* extracted in the *Bengal Harkaru*, November 25, 1829.

17. *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine and Review*, No. III, October 1833, p. 433.

18. Ibid., p. 434.

Other bi-weekly, ter-weekly and weekly journals :¹⁹

	Daily edition :	Ter-weekly edition :	Total :
<i>Oriental Observer</i>	...	...	230
<i>Indian Register</i>	...	...	200
<i>Reformer</i>	...	...	400
<i>Gyanneshun</i> (bi-lingual, English and Bengali)	...	...	100
<i>Samachar Durpan</i>	(-Do-)	...	250
<i>Enquirer</i>	...	...	100
<i>Bengal Herald</i>	...	...	242
			<hr/> 1,522 <hr/>

This low circulation had variously been accounted for by the contemporaries. According to J.S. Buckingham of the celebrated *Calcutta Journal* limited circulation of newspapers in India was owing to peculiar "indifference" of the "Englishmen settled in India" to "learn all that is going on the stage of public events." He arrived at the conclusion that not more than one-tenth of these Englishmen were readers of newspaper.²⁰ Then, according to the *India Gazette*, the Englishmen in India were mere birds of passage and they would only look forward to the time of return to the motherland with the wealth amassed here. It hoped that there would be improvement when colonisation in India would be accepted as a policy.²¹ And according to the editor of the *Bengal Harkaru* this was due to "the prejudices common to all colonial societies in favour of home productions."²² Some years later the *Friend of India* made a calculation of the import of these home productions thus :²³ "The number of newspapers imported month by month from England amounts to nearly

19. Ibid., p. 423. The *Enquirer* had a total circulation of 200. But as 100 were distributed by the editor gratis the same appears to have been omitted for this calculation. The *Missionary Weekly*, the *Philanthropist*, and the literary *Weekly*, the *Literary Gazette*, have been omitted.

20. *Calcutta Journal*, August 8, 1820, p. 466.

21. *India Gazette* extracted in the *Bengal Harkaru*, November 25, 1829.

22. *Bengal Harkaru*, January 3, 1832.

23. *Friend of India*, May 8, 1845, p. 293.

40,000. If each editor of a Newspaper receives on an average 100, still the number to the address of the whole body can not greatly exceed 2,500 ; leaving 37,500 as the number taken by the community, and this is by no means a small number for so limited a body as the Europeans in India."

We do not get any ready-made estimate of the circulation of the Calcutta papers in the forties or fifties. However, in 1846, the *Friend of India* attempted to calculate the circulation of different Calcutta papers, ascertained the total Dawk circulation of the daily papers and came to the findings that "the circulation of these journals, which involve the largest outlay of capital, and the greatest mental and mechanical labour has not increased ...instead of increasing they have fallen off."²⁴ In support of this contention the figures of dawk circulation of the daily papers were cited. "The total Dawk circulation of the three daily papers in 1837 was 892. The entire Dawk circulation of the four daily now issued, was in the last week of March 1846, only 818."²⁵ (The three dailies in 1837 were the *Bengal Harkaru*, the *Englishman* and the *Calcutta Courier*. In 1846 these were the *Bengal Harkaru*, the *Englishman*, the *Calcutta Star* and the *Standard*.) The dawk circulation was taken up as the basis for speculation possibly because of the fact that the circulation by other means could not be precisely determined, the proprietors and editors being likely to give out inflated figures.

Friend of India thus speculated upon the reasons for this¹ : "This decrease has been occasioned in some measure by the social revolution which has taken place during the last ten years in the North West Provinces which comprise more than one half the newspaper readers on this side of India. The establishment of a separate Government at Agra was the first step towards a separation of interests between the two divisions of the Presidency ... The North-Western Provinces have now their own tradesmen, and their own banks, ... the ladies have their own milliners independent of the metropolis ; and the community at large has its own Press, and its own organs of opinion ... Hence the de-

24. Ibid., April 16, 1846, p. 241.

25. Ibid.

1. Ibid.

pendence of North West community upon the Calcutta Press has been diminished, and the circulation of the daily journals in these provinces has been proportionately reduced. Nor... must we forget the very great start which Bombay papers... have taken, the result of which has been to draw off from the patronage of the Calcutta papers a considerable body of those subscribers who reside nearer to Bombay than to Calcutta. To the growth and competition of these new interests, we trace in a great measure the stationary position of the Calcutta daily press, amidst the increasing excitement and the general progress of the age."

We are, however, of the opinion that the diminution in Dawk circulation outside the Presidency was more than counterbalanced by increase in the local circulation. In support of this contention we may cite the number of the native subscribers for the *Friend of India*. In 1843, according to calculation made by Rev. James Long, the *Friend of India* had 47 subscribers.² But in 1855 and 1856, the two peaceful years before the Sepoy Mutiny, we get that it had respectively 111 and 112 subscribers (the *Friend of India* used to acknowledge publicly in its columns receipt of subscription and hence we may rely on these data without any apprehension for exaggeration). We may well suppose that the native subscribers for the other two well circulated papers under English management, the *Englishman* and the *Bengal Harkaru*, must also have increased. Besides these, now there were also other English papers under native management like the *Hindoo Patriot* and the *Hindu Intelligencer*. The spread of English education and the eventful administration of Lord Dalhousie definitely led to the increasing local demand for newspapers: both with the native and the Englishmen in India.

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Prior to the setting up of the celebrated *Calcutta Journal* of James Silk Buckingham there is no information of the involvement of the mercantile interest in the Press in Calcutta. We may well suppose that prior to the Court of Directors' order in 1825, prohibiting their servants from having relation with the Press,³ the investment in this field came mostly from savings of the

2. *Friend of India*, April 10, 1851, p. 229.

3. Published through Notification in the General Department dated May 11, 1826; the *Government Gazette*, May 18, 1826.

Company's servants. Some capital might have also come from the Agency Houses, purely on business terms and on calculation of business interest of the parties involved. We get the first instance of extra business involvement of mercantile capital in the Press in the foundation of the *Calcutta Journal*. We get the details from Buckingham himself.⁴ In June 1818, Buckingham came to Calcutta. "...there were then existing at Calcutta five or six different newspapers, each of which was conducted by an editor in the service of the Government, and wholly subject to its control ; but while the Government interests were thus well protected and taken care of, there was no journal among all the number in which the merchants of the city could find admission for any communications calculated to call in question either the wisdom or the justice of any regulation, order or law affecting their peculiar interests. It was believed, therefore that a public journal conducted by an independent gentleman, neither in the service of the Government nor under any party control, would afford that medium of free discussion, or be greatly advantageous to the mercantile community in particular..." Soon after Buckingham's landing in Calcutta Mr. Palmer (of the House of Palmer & Co.)⁵ applied to him to know whether he would be willing to undertake the editorship and management of the proposed public journal.⁶ After initial hesitation Buckingham agreed to the proposal.⁷ Necessary fund (Rs. 30,000/-) was provided to him by 30 gentlemen, each a sum of Rs. 1,000/-. We would presume that these thirty gentlemen represented the Commercial Houses which patronised Buckingham in setting up the *Calcutta Journal*. This might have been a camouflage to cover the participation of the mercantile capital in the field of journalism. In any case, according to Buckingham himself, he repaid this sum out of the profit of the *Calcutta Journal*. But possibly the mercantile interest in the paper continued and at some stage Mr. John

4. Reply to Question No. 613 of Buckingham's examination on July 1, 1834 ; Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1834, Vol. 8, Paper 601, p. 50.
5. Reply to Question Nos. 326 of Buckingham's examination on May 23, 1826 ; *ibid.*, p. 19.
6. Reply to Question No. 613 of Buckingham's examination, *ibid.*, p. 50.
7. *Ibid.*

Palmer of Palmer & Co. and Mr. George Ballard of Alexander & Co. got into joint proprietorship of the *Calcutta Journal* with Buckingham. This contention is borne out by the fact that the notice of cancellation of license for publication of the *Journal* was thus addressed : "To Messrs. John Francis Sandys, John Palmer, Mr. George Ballard, and Peter Stone de Rozario."⁸ Mr. Palmer and Mr. Ballard were "the principal co-proprietors and agents of James Silk Buckingham on the spot."⁹

The persistency with which the *Calcutta Journal* was persecuted during the period of its publication might be indicative of the jealousy of the government officials at the encroachment of mercantile interest on the Calcutta Press so long almost an exclusive preserve for themselves. Besides the actions initiated in the name of the Governor General in Council, in one instance all the six Secretaries to the Government unitedly and in their name launched a judicial prosecution against Buckingham (which however ended in dismissal on the verdict of the jury)¹⁰ and in another instance Buckingham had to fight out a duel being challenged by Dr. Jamieson, Superintendent of the School for native doctors.¹¹

Certain other facts may also be mentioned as indicative of the rivalry between the officialdom and mercantile community over this issue. These are :

First, all the abuses which Buckingham revealed through his *Journal* concerned omissions, commissions and misdeeds of the Government officials right down from the Lord Bishop of Calcutta. But there was no exposure of any mismanagement in any of the Agency Houses. We may presume such mismanagement out of the simple fact that not long after Buckingham's deportation, in the early thirties many of the big Houses in Calcutta went bankrupt.

8. Appendix to the Report from the Select Committee on the Suppression of the *Calcutta Journal*; *ibid.*, Appendix p. 86.
9. Reply to Question No. 613 of Buckingham's examination; Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1834, Vol. 8, p. 79.
10. "Supreme Court January 18, 1822: The case of the United Secretaries Vs. Buckingham"; *Calcutta Journal*, January 21, 1822, pp. 209-216.
11. "Recent Duel"; *Calcutta Journal*, August 7, 1822, p. 521.

Secondly, the *John Bull in the East* was set up as a counterpoise of the *Calcutta Journal* with open proclamation of its intention in the prospectus.¹² It was owned by John Trotler, Esq., Opium Agent; R.C. Plowden, Esqr., Salt Agent; T. Lewin, Clerk of the Crown in the Supreme Court; C.B. Greenlaw, also a Covenanted Servant of the E.I. Company.¹³

Thirdly, the utter disgust and hatred with which the *Calcutta Journal* received the appearance of the *John Bull* may be regraded as an additional pointer. Since the issue of the prospectus on June 7, 1821, till its appearance on July 2, 1821, the *John Bull* was denounced in the columns of the *Calcutta Journal* nine times in seven issues¹⁴ in the form of letter to the editor, editorial, mimic sketch and parody. An Extra Sheet was issued with the *Calcutta Journal* on June 25, bearing the title—"John Bull in the East: A specimen of the manner in which *John Bull's* Materials are to be procured: worthy the perusal of all who take an interest in *John Bull's* defence." In its columns it was asserted that in the plan "there is a deadly animosity...deeply seated, and a feeling of enmity that will shrink from no means of doing us every possible injury, and impeding the fair pursuit of our duty in the public service."

In the contest between the mercantile and official interests over the *Calcutta Press*, the initial victory rested with the officials. Buckingham was deported out of India, the Press Regulations were passed which would silence the Press from criticising the Government (and thus exposing the officials of the Government) and finally the licence for publication of the *Calcutta Journal* was cancelled. Not satisfied with all these they ultimately ruined the entire properties of Buckingham invested in the *Calcutta Journal* by systematically refusing licence for any publication out of the Calcutta Journal Establishment which would

12. Prospectus for the *John Bull in the East*, dated June 7, 1821, published in the *Government Gazette*, June 14, 1821.

13. Proceedings of the Special General Court of Proprietors, held on July 23, 1824; *Asiatic Journal*, September, 1824, p. 279.

14. *Calcutta Journal*, June 16 (pp. 555-58), 19 (pp. 587-92), 21 (p. 622), 25 (Extra Sheet without page number), 27 (pp. 692-93), 28 (pp. 699 and 702) and 29 (p. 718), 1821.

bear out any profit to Buckingham.¹⁵ Ultimately licence was issued to Dr. Muston, a son-in-law of Mr. Harrington,¹⁶ one of the Secretaries to the Government who would soon become a member of the Governor General's Council,¹⁷ for publication of the newspaper, the *Scotman in the East*, out of the Calcutta Journal Establishment on an arrangement which ensured that no profit would accrue to Buckingham.¹⁸ So complete was the financial ruin of Buckingham that a public appeal for financial aid "to the relief of a man on whom misfortune has fallen with a heavy hand" was issued by a group of philanthropic and public men.¹⁹

But ultimately in the contest the Government officials proved losers. By the order of the Court of Directors of the East India Company in 1825 the servants of the Company "Civil, Naval, or Military, Surgeons and chaplains included" were completely debarred from having any relation with the Press "whether as Editor, Sole Proprietor and Sharer in the Property."²⁰

Many in Calcutta viewed this as outcome of the efforts of Buckingham²¹ through the pages of his *Oriental Herald*.²²

The encroachment of the Mercantile Houses upon the Press was through advance of capital to proprietors of newspaper Establishments and naturally all dealings were kept close guarded secrets. Hence there would be speculations through assertions and denials both as to the amount advanced and influence exerted.

Thus it was asserted by J.H. Stocqueler that the firm of Messrs. Alexander & Co. advanced £ 60,000 to Messrs. Samuel Smith

15. Reply to Questions numbering 248 and 348 to 434 of the examination of Mr. J.C.C. Sutherland (on May 19 and 24, 1826) and Mr. S. Arnot (on May 23 and 24, 1826); Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1834, Vol. 8, Paper 601, pp. 13, 20-24.

16. Reply to Question No. 389 of the examination of Mr. Sanford Arnot on May 24, 1826; *ibid.*, p. 24.

17. Reply to Question No. 390; *ibid.*

18. Reply to Question No. 460 of Examination of Mr. J.C.C. Sutherland: *ibid.*, p. 28.

19. Reply to Question No. 633 of the examination of Buckingham on July 17, 1834, *ibid.*, p. 8.

20. Published through Notification in the General Department dated May 11, 1826, in the *Government Gazette*, May 18, 1826.

21. *Bengal Harkaru*, May 20, 1825.

22. The *Oriental Herald*, the monthly periodical paper undertaken by Buckingham in London shortly after his deportation out of India.

& Co. for the Bengal Harkaru Establishments and this obliged Mr. Smith to appoint Col. James Young, a retired Artillery Officer and a principal member of that House, as the editor of the *Bengal Harkaru* on a fat salary when that House became bankrupt in 1832.²³

Prior to this in 1827, there appeared an insinuation in the *John Bull*²⁴ that the Messrs Samuel Smith & Co. were under heavy financial obligations to two Agency Houses in Calcutta and this affected the editorial policy of the *Bengal Harkaru* who had to employ an editor of their choice. An emphatic denial was made by Messrs Samuel Smith & Co. immediately²⁵: "Notice to the Public: . . . The insinuations conveyed by the *Bull* yesterday . . . We meet both insinuations with direct denial . . . The gentleman who now conducts the *Harkaru* was not even recommended to us by a member of any house of agency . . . his peculiar position, his worth and talent, pointed him out to us . . . for the task of editing our paper . . . To leave the *Bull* no inch of ground to quibble . . . we beg to add . . . that the *Bengal Harkaru* Newspaper is the sole and undivided property of Samuel Smith who manages it . . . under the firm of Samuel Smith & Co."

We get the question again to come up for discussion in the last part of 1832. It was asserted in the *Calcutta Courier* that the daily papers of this Presidency were in "bondage" to the Commercial Houses and that however they might boast of freedom of discussion they were "gagged whenever they presume to touch upon subjects affecting the commercial welfare of those houses."¹ *India Gazette* immediately came out with an editorial strongly contradicting this assertion.² But this explanation of the editor of the *India Gazette* could not convince all its readers. This becomes evident from a letter to the editor of the *India*

23. J.H. Stocqueler, op. cit., p. 89.

24. *John Bull*, extracted in the *Bengal Chronicle*, October 25, 1827, p. 619.

25. *Bengal Harkaru* quoted in the *Bengal Chronicle*, October 25, 1827, p. 619.

1. *Calcutta Courier* quoted in the *India Gazette*, June 8, 1832.

2. *India Gazette*, June 8, 1832.

Gazette which was published, in spite of a different opinion expressed in it, in the issue of June 9, 1832.

Whatever might be the influence of the Mercantile Houses over the editorial pens there is no doubt that involvement of some of the newspaper Establishments with a few of the Mercantile firms was too deep for their independent existence. From J.H. Stocqueler we hear that after financial disaster of 1832 the assignees of one of the bankrupt Houses sold away the *John Bull* to him.³ Such was also the case with the *India Gazette* as we learn from the following notice in the *Englishman*⁴ :

“The *India Gazette*—The three shares of this press, for sometime advertised for sale, were disposed of by public auction on Saturday (26. 9. 1834) and fell to Dwarkanauth Tagore for 34,000 rupees, though only 15,000 had been previously offered. The result is very satisfactory...it ensures to the creditors of Mackintosh & Co., and Fergusson & Co., a pretty contribution towards a dividend... Dwarkanauth Tagore is now the sole proprietor of the *India Gazette*, and the last remnant of that influence which the mercantile body was supposed to exercise over the metropolitan press may now be said to be extinguished. Dwarkanauth is, we should say, one of the last men who would attempt to fetter an Editor in the exercise of his sacred and responsible duty.”

The failure of many of the chief commercial and banking firms in Calcutta during the years of 1832-34 such as Alexander & Co., Mackintosh & Co., de Cruttenden Mackillop & Co., Fergusson & Co.⁵ and some others involving millions of rupees possibly ended the encroachment of the Mercantile Houses on the Press. For, subsequently we do not come across any allusion to this in our period.

3. J.H. Stocqueler, op. cit., p. 92.

4. *Englishman* extracted in the *India Gazette*, September 30, 1834.

5. J.H. Stocqueler, op. cit., p. 88.

CAPTER II

STRUGGLE FOR THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

In 1780 came out Hicky's *Bengal Gazette* (the first newspaper in India) and it was only in 1799 that Government framed Regulation for the public Press. Technically the Press in Bengal was free during this period. Commenting on the Press Laws in Bengal, James Sutherland (a luminary in the Press world of Bengal in the third and fourth decades of the 19th century) highlighted this point in course of his examination before the Select Committee on the Affairs in India on March 16, 1832¹: "...in the time of Warren Hastings, certainly the most critical period of our empire in India, the press laboured under no other restrictions than the laws of England, which was found amply sufficient to check its licentiousness...the earliest paper published in Bengal...was violent and even scurrilous in the extreme, in its attack on public men; but the law in that case was found sufficient to suppress it, by subjecting the editor to numerous heavy fines."

It would be, however, wrong for us to suppose that prior to 1799 the Press enjoyed the fullest freedom subject only to the restriction mentioned above. During this period even, the Governor General in Council with his tremendous executive authority made serious inroad upon the liberty of the Press.

The exercise of this executive authority might take the mild form—expression of displeasure of the Governor General in Council as we get in this notice in the *Calcutta Gazette*²: "We

1. Reply to Question No. 1186; Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1831-32, Vol. 9, Paper 735 I, p. 129.
2. *Calcutta Gazette*, February 10, 1785.

are directed by the Honorable the Governor General in Council to express their entire disapprobation of some extracts from English newspapers which appeared in this paper... ." Generally such an expression of displeasure would make the editor to mend his ways.

It might take also comparatively harsher form of denial to the proprietor the benefit of service of any Government machinery, particularly the Postal Department. Newspaper circulation outside Calcutta was entirely dependent on the Post Offices in those days and hence Government could deal a severe blow on the proprietor of any paper by denying this service.³ The first case of such exercise of authority encroaching upon the liberty of the Press took place in 1780—the very year of the appearance of newspaper in this land. On the ground that it had “lately been found to contain several improper paragraphs tending to vilify private characters, and to disturb the Peace of the settlement” Hicky was denied the services of the Postal Department for transmission of his paper⁴ : “Fort William, 14th November, 1780. Public notice is hereby given that... the *Bengal Gazette or Calcutta General Advertiser* printed by J. A. Hicky... is no longer permitted to be circulated through the channel of the General Post Office.”

Incidentally we may mention that more than four decades after this, the same executive authority was exercised by Government—during the administration of John Adam—when it called upon the editor of the *Calcutta Journal* to divulge the name of the author of the letter published in its columns on April 2, 1823, under the pseudonym “A Young Officer” and threatened that the Postmaster General would be “instructed not to permit the circulation of the *Calcutta Journal* by means of the Public Establishments maintained for the conveyance of the Dawk.”⁵

3. Thus we get Hicky who was otherwise undaunted, to lament his financial loss arising out of the denial of the Postal Services to his paper—“this step (only) puts four Hundred Rupees per month out of Mr. Hicky’s Pocket.”—Hicky’s *Bengal Gazette*, November 11, 1780.

4. Ibid.

5. Report of the Select Committee on the Suppression of the *Calcutta Journal*, Appendix pp. 77-78 ; Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1834, Vol. 8, Paper 601.

Further, we get the following cases of the Government encroachment upon freedom of the Press during 1791 to 1799, till Lord Wellesley promulgated the Press Regulation in that year.⁶ (These cases are not numerous. Nonetheless these go to show infringement on the liberty of the Press owing to exercise of executive authority by the Government).

(a) In 1791, Mr. William Duane of the *Bengal Journal* was arrested by Government and ordered to be transported to Europe for a paragraph in his paper reflecting upon Colonel De Canaple, Commandant of the Affairs of the French, then residing in Calcutta. He was, however, saved by the intercession of the French Agent. Years after this he was again arrested for publication of a number of articles allegedly improper and intemperate particularly an inflammatory address to the army, in the *World* of which he was then the editor and was transported to Europe.

(b) In the same year Government admonished the editor of the *Calcutta Gazette* for inserting certain communications on the subject of peace which had passed between the Court of London and the French Republic. The editor, Mr. Horsley, had to ask for pardon and to make promise to abstain in future from inserting similar articles.

(c) In 1798, Government called upon the editor of the *Telegraph* for a letter published in that paper animadverting on the conduct of Mr. Rider, the Magistrate at Gazeepore, to apologise. The editor had to comply with this direction.

(d) In 1799, Government publicly called upon the editor of the *Telegraph* to apologise for some very indecent reflections on the clerk of the Post Office which had appeared in that paper.

In 1799, during the Governor Generalship of Lord Wellesley, Government framed "Regulation for the Public Press," which provided⁷ :

"1st. Every printer of a newspaper to print his name at the bottom of the paper.

"2nd. Every editor and proprietor of a paper to deliver his name and place of abode to the Secretary to Government.

"3rd. No paper to be published on a Sunday.

6. Ibid., Appendix pp. 111 to 114.

7. Ibid., Appendix p. 112.

"4th. No paper to be published at all until it shall have been previously inspected by the Secretary to the Government, or by a person authorised by him for that purpose.

"5th. The penalty for offending against any of the above Regulations to be immediate embarkation for Europe."

Subsequently certain rules were framed for the guidance of the Secretary to the Government in revising the newspapers as censor :⁸

"He was to prevent all observations respecting the public revenues and finances of the country—all observations respecting the embarkations on board ships of stores, or expeditions, and their destinations, whether they belonged to the Company or to Europe—all statements of the probability of war or peace between the Company and the Native Powers—all observations tending to convey information to the enemy, and the republication of paragraphs from the European papers, which may tend to effect the influence or credit of the British power with the native states."

Regarding the penal provision of the Press Regulation of 1799 two points need be mentioned specifically. First, this was nothing new. Already in 1794, Government arrested and sent Mr. Duane, the then editor of the *World* to Europe.⁹ The Supreme Court also upheld this right of the executive authorities when against an earlier order for transportation Mr. Duane sought intervention of that body.¹⁰ Secindly, this could not be enforced against any Native or Eurasian as the Governor General could not transport them out of India. Thirdly, the severity of this punishment proved to be the chief guarantee for its rare application. And this might also have encouraged the editors to violate the censor occasionally. We get instances of these violations recorded in a letter from the Chairman and Dy. Chairman of the E.I. Co. to the Rt. Hon'ble Charles Watkins Williams Wynn, dated January 17, 1823.¹¹

8. Parliamentary Debates, 1st Series, Vol. XIX, p. 464.

9. Letter from the Chairman and Dy. Chairman of the East India Company to the Rt. Hon'ble Charles Watkins Williams Wynn dated 17th January 1823; Ibid., Appendix p. 111.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.

It is interesting to know how an Indian scholar, Pandit Sivnath Sastri could guess the cause for this Regulation. He thought that there was difference of opinion amongst Englishmen in India as to the expediency of the Fourth Mysore War and to prohibit these from coming up to the general public through discussions in the periodicals that the censorship of the Press was imposed by Lord Wellesley.¹²

On his return from India Lord Wellesley had to face criticism from a section of the Fourth Estate as an enemy to the freedom of the Press while at the same time he was warmly supported by another section. According to the latter through his Regulation Lord Wellesley defined and made known to the newspaper proprietors and editors the policy on which the Government would exercise its authority over the Press in India.¹³

In 1811, on March 11, the Press Regulation of 1799, came up for a debate on the floor of the House of Commons on the motion of Lord Archibald Hamilton when the members on the Treasury Bench upheld this mainly on two grounds—that “Without some censorship there would be danger” and that the Company’s government in India could morally and lawfully lay down this Regulation as “no European could be in India but either in the service of the company or by the license of the company.”¹⁴

Whatever might be the official justification for the Press Regulation of 1799, it can not be denied that this had a deadening influence on the journalism in India. This would be borne out by the simple fact that while between 1780 to 1799 not less than 19 papers and periodicals came into publication during 1800-1813 there was hardly any new venture in this respect.

In course of time occasional violation of the censorship occurred. According to the delinquent editors these were occasioned either by inadvertance or misunderstanding of the rules of censorship. To end this, on October 16, 1813, the following rules were issued by Government¹⁵ :

12. Sivnath Sastri, *Ramtanu Lahiri*, op. cit., p. 161.

13. *Morning Post* reproduced in the *Asiatic Annual Register*, 1806, Political & Commercial Paper, pp. 64-66.

14. Parliamentary Debates, 1st Series, Vol. XIX, pp. 464-471.

15. Report from the Select Committee on the Suppression of the *Calcutta Journal*, Appendix p. 113 ; Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1834, Vol. 8, Paper 601.

"1st. That the proof-sheets of all newspapers, including supplements, and all extra publications, be previously sent to the Chief Secretary for revision.

"2nd. That all notices, and bills and other ephemeral publications, be in like manner previously transmitted for the Chief Secretary's revision.

"3rd. That the titles of all original works proposed to be published, be also sent to the Chief Secretary for his information, who will thereupon either sanction the publication of them, or require the work itself for inspection, as may appear proper."

No specific penal provision was however laid down for violation of these rules. The general provision—cancellation of licence for residence in India and deportation to Europe—only was applicable.

On the 10th of August, 1818, Lord Hastings as the Governor General in Council passed new Regulations for the Press superseding the censorship.

Government did not assign any reason for this change.¹⁶ Subsequently, in 1832, Charles Lushington who was in India as a servant of the E.I. Co. for 20 years and retired as the Chief Secretary gave out the reasons for this change as follows¹⁷ : "... in the time of Lord Hastings, an Anglo-Indian editor discovered that he could not be legally sent out of the country for press offences (for, the Anglo-Indians or the half-castes did not require any licence for residence in India which could be cancelled for violation of the Press Regulations) ; the consequence was, that he set the Government at defiance, and refused to adopt the erasures of the chief secretary, who was the censor of the press. The government then, making a merit of compulsion, adopted a set of regulations, by which they required that the proceedings of the public press should be conducted, and took off the censorship. . . ."

James Silk Buckingham also in his examination before Select Committee on 1st July, 1834, gave out such a background for

16. Ibid., Appendix p. 114.

17. Reply to Question No. 972, by C. Lushington on March 8, 1832; Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1832, Vol. 9, Paper 735 I, p. 113.

the abolition of the press censorship and introduction of new Press Regulations by Lord Hastings.¹⁸

The Press Regulations of 1818 were not published in the *Government Gazette* and were simply communicated to the editors of the newspapers through a letter by the Chief Secretary to the Government.¹⁹ The editors of newspapers were prohibited by these from publishing any matter, coming under the following heads²⁰ :

"1st. Animadversions on the measures and proceedings of the Honourable Court of Directors, or other public authorities in England, connected with the Government of India, or disquisitions on political transactions of the local administration, or offensive remarks levelled at the public conduct of the members of the Council, of the Judges of the Supreme Court, or of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta.

"2nd. Discussions having a tendency to create alarm or suspicion among the native population, of any intended interference with their religious opinions or observances.

"3rd. The republication, from English or other newspapers, of passages coming under any of the above heads, or otherwise calculated to affect the British power or reputation in India.

"4th. Private scandal and personal remarks on individuals, tending to excite dissension in society.

"Relying on the prudence and discretion of the Editors for the careful observance of these Rules, the Governor-general

18. Reply to Question No. 613 by Buckingham before the Select Committee on the Suppression of the *Calcutta Journal* on July 1, 1834 ; Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1834, Vol. 8, Paper 601, pp. 52-53. [Regarding Question No. 613 this needs to be mentioned that the Select Committee on the Suppression of the *Calcutta Journal* in 1826 could complete upto question No. 612 before it came to an end with the dissolution of the Parliament. The Select Committee which was appointed in 1834 for the same purpose marked this question—their first one—with Serial No. 1. But their second question was marked as Question No. 614, in keeping with the Serial running from the Select Committee in 1826.]
19. Report from the Select Committee on the Suppression of the *Calcutta Journal* ; *ibid*, Appendix p. 41.
20. *Ibid*.

is pleased to dispense with their submitting their papers to the officer of Government previous to publication. The Editors will, however, be held personally accountable for whatever they may publish in contravention of the rules now communicated, or which may be otherwise at variance with the principles of British law as established in this country, and will be proceeded against, in such manner as the Governor-General in Council may deem applicable to the nature of the offence, for any deviation from them."

The editors were required to lodge in the Chief Secretary's office one copy of every newspaper, periodical, or extra, published by them.

These Regulations for the Press were in the nature of executive order lacking the force of law as these were not presented in the King's court for registration by His Majesty's judges as required under the provision of the Act of the Parliament granting the charter of the East India Company.²¹

In the non-official circle in India the abolition of the censorship was hailed with great acclaim. But the Government officials viewed it with displeasure though they were reticent in public.

It also created strong adverse reaction in the mind of the Directors of the East India Company. They decided to preemptorily direct the Governor-General to rescind the new Regulations and to revert to the old system of censorship and for this purpose sent a draft despatch to the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India in April 1820 for approval²² : "Draft-paragraphs proposed by the Court of Directors to be sent to their Presidency of Fort William in Bengal...we positively direct, that on the receipt of this despatch you do revert to the practice which had prevailed for near 20 years previous to 1818, and continue the same in force until you shall have submitted to us, and we shall have approved and sanctioned, some other sys-

21. Reply to Question No. 613 by Mr. J.S. Buckingham ; *ibid*, p. 53.

22. Copy furnished by Thomas Love Peacock, Senior Asst. Examiner of India Correspondence, in connection with reply to question No. 628 in course of his examination on July 11, 1834, before the Select Committee on the Suppression of the *Calcutta Journal* ; *ibid*, pp. 104-105.

tem of responsibility or control, adapted alike to all our presidencies in India. . . .”

The draft remained with the Board without any reply for long three years and then in July 1823 it was cancelled.²³ In explanation the Foreign Secretary Mr. Canning gave out—“he had thought the new scheme (of Lord Hastings) might as well have a fair chance given it of success.”²⁴ During the period of our study occasionally the authorities of the East India Company and Her Majesty’s Government held divergent views as to the implication of a free press in India. This was the first of such occasions.

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It was over the *Calcutta Journal* of James Silk Buckingham, set up in Calcutta in October 1818, that the controversy over the issue of the freedom of the Press in India reached a climactic through a series of encounter of the editor with the Government and with the high officials of the Government during the administration of Lord Hastings. The most important of these may be related here.

The first was occasioned by certain paragraphs, blackedged, which appeared in the *Calcutta Journal* on in which it was represented that the continuance of Mr. Elliott in office as Governor of Madras was regarded in that Presidency as a “public calamity” (Mr. Elliott was disliked for his attitude towards the Press restrictions).²⁵ This became a subject of remonstrance for the Government of Lord Hastings and by a letter dated June 18, 1819, Buckingham was informed that the Governor General in Council considered the above paragraphs “to be highly offensive and objectionable in themselves, and to amount to a violation of the obvious spirit of the instructions communicated to the editors of newspapers” and that any further violation would subject him to legal prosecution.¹

23. Ibid.

24. Hansard’s Parliamentary Debates, New Series, Vol. XI, proceedings in the House of Commons on May 25, 1824, p. 879.

25. Reply to question No. 515 by J.S. Buckingham before the Select Committee of Parliament on May 24, 1826; *ibid.*, p. 32.

1. Report from the Select Committee on the Suppression of the *Calcutta Journal*; *ibid.*, Appendix p. 8.

The second occasion arose out of publication of a letter over a military matter in the *Calcutta Journal* on November 6, 1820.² The author alleged that in the Indian army merit had little to do with promotion which could not be gained "except by the pernicious means of a political influence, or as it is generally termed, interest." The Government became highly displeased, decided on the criminal prosecution of the editor and moved the Supreme Court accordingly.³ The prosecution was however withdrawn in no time. This might be owing to more mature legal consideration as to the prospect of its success.⁴

The next occasion proved more serious for Buckingham. It was over a letter in the *Calcutta Journal* on July 10, 1821, titled as "Duties of Chaplains" and signed by one as "A Churchman, and the Friend of a Lady on her Deathbed."⁵ It contained disrespectful insinuations against the Lord Bishop. It was alleged that at his command for other works the military chaplains neglect their primary duty to the army personnel. Buckingham, on demand by the Chief Secretary to the Government, declined to divulge the identity of the author⁶ and over this got a severe warning from the Government⁷—that for any future recurrence of such delinquency his licence for residence in India should be annulled and consequently he would be transhipped out of this land.

Subsequent to this Buckingham became involved in an encounter with the officials of the Government. This was over a letter published in the *Calcutta Journal*, from an author with the pseudonym "Sam Sobersides."⁸ The six Secretaries to the Government unitedly launched a prosecution case against

2. The author used the pen-name 'AMULAE'.

3. Extract Bengal Consultation, 17th November, 1820; Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1834, Vol. 8, Paper 601, Appendix p. 17.

4. Reply to Question No. 613; *ibid.*, p. 59.

5. Reply to Question No. 613; *ibid.*, p. 59.

6. Letter dated July 14, 1821, to J.S. Buckingham, from the Chief Secretary, and the reply of Buckingham dated July 16, 1821, to the Chief Secretary; *ibid.*, Appendix p. 20.

7. Letter dated July 17, 1821, from the Chief Secretary to Buckingham; Appendix p. 21; *ibid.*

8. He was Colonel Robinson of H.M's 24th Regiment; reply to Question No. 613; *ibid.*, p. 62.

Buckingham on charge of libel.⁹ But the jury returned a verdict of acquittal.¹⁰

The last of the occasions during the administration of Lord Hastings arose out of a more fundamental issue—the opinion expressed in the *Calcutta Journal* on August 31, 1822, as to the very legality of the Press Regulations of 1818. It was asserted that those Regulations were not proper laws as these had not been registered in the King's Court, a formality without which those could no more become law than a Bill carried through both Houses could become an Act of Parliament without receiving the Royal Assent.

In a letter dated September 5, 1822, Government issued a severe reproof to Buckingham¹¹: "... You are now finally apprised, that if you shall again venture to impeach the validity of the statute quoted, and the legitimacy of the power vested by it in the chief authority here... your licence will be immediately cancelled, and you will be ordered to depart forthwith from India."

The attitude of the Governor General Lord Hastings as revealed in the above proceedings appears to be enigmatic. He abolished the censorship and bestowed freedom on the Press but the Government presided over by him would not allow an editor to go upto the logical extent of that freedom.

Charles Lushington, one of the Secretaries to the Government of India at that time, in his evidence before the Select Committee of the Parliament on Indian Affairs on March 8, 1832, explained the whole episode as arising out of the self vanity of the Governor-General Lord Hastings.¹²

Mr. D. Kinnaird of the Court of Proprietors of the East India Stock, an advocate of the freedom of Press in India, tried to solve the riddle by observing that in fact Lord Hastings did not approve

9. Ibid.

10. *Calcutta Journal*, January 21, 1822, pp. 209-216.

11. Extract, Bengal Public Consultations, 17th October, 1822; Appendix p. 33; Report from the Select Committee on the Suppression of the *Calcutta Journal*, Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1834, Vol. 8, Paper 601.

12. Evidence of Charles Lushington; Question No. 972; Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1831-32, Vol. 9, Paper 735 I, p. 113.

of all these proceedings against Buckingham but being teased by his Council he agreed to these.¹³

Mr. Buckingham explained the conduct of Lord Hastings as example of "the aberrations of the human heart and human understanding."¹⁴ The London newspaper *English Gentleman* termed this role as "the part of a coquette."¹⁵

In January 1823, Lord Hastings left India and till the arrival of Lord Amherst as his appointed successor John Adam took over as the Governor General of India. Shortly after this he conferred on the Rev. Dr. Dryce, the Presbyterian Chaplain of the E.I. Company in India (formerly the editor and managing proprietor of the *Asiatic Mirror* and now the editor of the *John Bull*, the bitterest opponent of the *Calcutta Journal*), the office of the Clerk of the Committee for Supplying the Government office with Stationery, a place worth about £ 600 or £ 800 a year as a measure "to reward handsomely those who had been most active and most violent in their opposition to the freedom of the press in India."¹⁶ Public information of this appointment was published in the *Government Gazette* on February 6, 1823,¹⁷ and on February 8, the *Calcutta Journal* came out with a severe criticism of this secular appointment for a Chaplain, in an interesting and humorous style.

The reaction of the Government to this criticism was almost instantaneous. On February 12, 1823, Buckingham was served with a short notice informing him of the cancellation of his license for residence in India and directing him to leave her shores by the 15th of April next.¹⁸

13. Debates at East India House on July 9, 1824, on the Press in India; *Asiatic Journal*, August 1824, p. 183.

14. Letter of Mr. J.S. Buckingham published in the *Sun*, September 6, 1823.

15. *English Gentleman*, January 22, 1826, extracted in the *John Bull* (of Calcutta), June 3, 1826.

16. Reply of Buckingham to Question No. 613 in his Examination on July 1, 1834; Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1834, Vol. 8, Paper 601, p. 70.

17. Appendix to the *Government Gazette*, February 6, 1823.

18. Extract Bengal Public Consultations, 20th February, 1823, Appendix p. 39; Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1834, Vol. 8, Paper 601.

While this was going on in India, the Court of Directors was representing to Her Majesty's Government the danger of a free Press in India and was urging on this ground for an application to the Parliament for enlargement of the powers of the Government of India.¹⁹

Her Majesty's Government, however, did not oblige the Court of Directors and held that it would not be either "necessary or expedient to apply to Parliament to arm the India Government with fresh authority under the present circumstances."²⁰ This is the second instance of the divergent views of the authorities of the East India Company and the H.M's Government about the implication of a free Press in India.

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After cancellation of the licence of Buckingham for residence in India the Government of John Adam took measures to strengthen its hands against the Press.

On March 14, 1823, the Governor General in Council passed "A Rule, Ordinance & Regulation, for the Good Order and Civil Government of the Settlement of Fort William in Bengal"

19. Letter from the Court of Director to the Board of Control; *ibid.*, pp. 100-101.

20. Minutes of the meeting on March 1, 1823, at Fief House between the Prime Minister, Foreign Secretary, President of the Board of Commissioners, with the Chairman, Dy. Chairman and Mr. J. Bosanquet, member of the Secret Committee of the East India Company; This was submitted by T. Love Peacock Esquire, Senior Assistant Examiner of India Correspondence, before the Select Committee on the Suppression of the *Calcutta Journal*, in course of his reply to Question No. 628 on July 11, 1824; *ibid.*, p. 101. These proceedings were a closely guarded secret for long and only came out to open light through this examination and naturally gave rise to great consternation. These were termed by the *Bengal Harkaru* as "flagitious attempt" against the Press in India and these were published by the *Friend of India* on February 26, 1835, p. 65 with this editorial comment: "Mr. Peacock, an employee of the Court of Directors, in order to shift the odium of Mr. Buckingham's banishment from the Company to his Majesty's Ministers has just disclosed the whole affairs."

which was laid before the Supreme Court on the next day to be registered and published.²¹

Opposition to this encroachment upon the freedom of the Press came in a most vehement form from a quarter possibly the most unexpected for the Government—the natives of Bengal. The leadership of the opposition rested with Raja Rammohun Roy. The Englishmen in India, whatever might be their sentiment on this question, could hardly dare to become vocal in opposition for the apprehension of being transhipped to Europe at the pleasure of the Governor General in Council.

The only judge in the Supreme Court was then Sir Francis Macnaghten. "A Rule, Ordinance & Regulation" being presented in the Supreme Court for registration on March 15, and being objected to by Mr. Ferguson, Advocate, on behalf of the proprietors of the *Calcutta Journal* the 31st of March, 1823, was fixed up for hearing.²² Rammohun Roy and his friends set about promoting an objection petition which could be sent into circulation for signature on the 30th and "consequently only fifteen natives had time to read and sign it."²³ And we get from Raja himself that "in preparing this memorial in both the English and the Bengalee languages, and discussing the alterations suggested by the different individuals who wished to give it their support and signature so much time was necessarily consumed, that it was not ready to be sent into circulation for signature until the 30th of March."²⁴ This petition signed by fifteen was not however submitted. The one submitted to the Court actually had the signatures of Ram Mohun Roy, Chunder Coomer Tagore, Dwarkunath Tagore, Hurchunder Ghose, Gouree Churn Banerjee and Prosunno Coomar Tagore.²⁵

This episode was referred to by Dwarkanath Tagore in his address in the meeting in the Calcutta Town Hall on the 5th of

21. *Government Gazette*, Supplementary, March 20, 1823.

22. *Government Gazette*, Supplement, March 20, 1823.

23. *The Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy*, edited by Prof. Dilip Kumar Biswas and Probhat Chandra Ganguly; Calcutta, 1962, p. 176.

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Government Gazette*, Supplement, April 3, 1923; Spelling of names used here are as in the *Gazette*.

January, 1835, convened to consider the propriety of petitioning the Governor General in Council to repeal the Press Regulations : "At that time I did not ask any European to sign a petition, his signature to which might have subjected him to transportation ; the same objection, however, did not exist in the case of the natives, for the Government even of that day could hardly have transported them. But none of the native could I prevail upon to join me, and I believe it was thought I should be hanged the next day for my boldness. . . ."1

The Supreme Court heard the objectors through Advocates Mr. Ferguson and Mr. Turton on March 31, 1823² and registered the "Rule, Ordinance and Regulation" on April 4, 1823.³

The speech which Justice Sir F. Macnaghten delivered on conclusion of the hearing of the objection reveals that he was already committed for its registration and heard the opposition lawyers as a matter of procedural formalities.⁴

This Rule, Ordinance and Regulation provided that no newspaper or periodical work containing public news and intelligence should be published without a licence from the Governor General in Council. Such a licence would be issued only on an affidavit sworn before a Magistrate and containing all relevant information regarding the printing press, the printer, the publisher, the proprietor, and the contents of the publication. A fine of rupees four hundred was to be imposed for each and every violation of this provision.⁵

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In protest Rammohun Roy forthwith stopped publication of his Persian periodical, the *Mirat ul-Akhbar*. He did not do this in silence but in the most vocal form the tone of which reached almost an epic height.

The *Mirat ul-Akhbar* on April 4, 1823, (Supplementary

1. Kissory Chand Mittra, *Memoirs of Dwarkanath Tagore*, Calcutta, 1870, p. 45.
2. *Government Gazette*, Supplement, April 3, 1823.
3. *Ibid.*, 4th Supplementary, April 10, 1823.
4. *Ibid.*, Supplement, April 3, 1823.
5. *Ibid.*, 4th Suuplementary, April 10, 1823.

Number) issued the notice of this stoppage of which an English translation was published in the *Calcutta Journal*.⁶

The giving up of the *Mirat-ul-Ukhbar* was just a token protest and did not mean total withdrawal of Rammohun Roy from journalistic world. He continued in the editorial management and proprietorship of the vernacular journal, the *Sambad Cowmudee*. Not only that, during the period of these Press Regulations he along with R.M. Martin, Dwarkanath Tagore, Prasunno Coomar Thakur, Neel Rutton Holder and Rajkissen Sing commenced the English periodical, the *Bengal Herald* (with its vernacular counterpart the *Bungo Doot*), in May 1829.

In the official circle in Calcutta the protest of Rammohun Roy against the Press Regulations was suspected to be "instigated by Europeans in the first instance, otherwise they would have been perfectly indifferent to it."⁷

In the non-official European circle the memory of the activities of Rammohun Roy was long cherished and in a memorial meeting in the Town Hall in 1834 the renowned T.E.M. Turton dwelt on this and spoke of the independent spirit of Rammohun Roy "as exemplified in the bold opposition he had made to the Press Regulations during the administration of Mr. Adam, while others had not the courage to raise their voice against it."⁸

In the opinion of the enlightened natives of the time the Press Regulations of 1823 originated from fear—"fear arising from two causes, the former from the preponderating power of the conquered to the conquerors of Indostan, and another not less important, viz. lest the populace of England might grow too wise in the complexities of Indian policy."⁹

Subsequent to this another Regulation was issued (Regulation III of 1823) which further strengthened the hands of Government relating to newspapers and other periodical works. It

6. *Calcutta Journal*, April 10, 1823 extracted in *Raja Rammohun Roy and Progressive Movements in India*, by Jatindra Kumar Majumdar, Calcutta (1941), pp. 322-23.

7. Examination of Charles Lushington on March 8, 1823; Question No. 1022; Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1831-32, Vol. 9, Paper 735-I, p. 117.

8. *Bengal Spectator*, July 1842, p. 49.

9. *Bengal Herald*, August 8, 1829, p. 217.

authorised the Governor General-in-Council "to prohibit the circulation, within the territories immediately subordinate to the Presidency of Fort William, of any particular newspaper, or printed book or paper of any description whether the same may be printed in the town of Calcutta or elsewhere." For any violation of this prohibition the delinquent would be subjected for the first offence to a fine not exceeding rupees one hundred, commutable to imprisonment without labour for a period not exceeding two months, and for any subsequent offence to a fine not exceeding rupees two hundred, commutable to imprisonment without labour for a period upto four months.

The Government could thus prohibit "the circulation of the *Edinburg* or *Quarterly Reviews*, the *Times* or *Morning Chronicle*, or any publication of any kind coming from England, as well as those printed in India" and according to Buckingham this aimed mainly against him—"to prevent the introduction and circulation of the *Oriental Herald*, which I had announced my intention to publish in this country (England), and thus if possible, to crush me entirely."¹⁰

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In compliance with the order of Government Buckingham left India on the 1st of March, 1823, and reached England in the following June.¹¹ While leaving India Buckingham officially made Mr. John Francis Sandys the editor of the *Calcutta Journal*.¹² He was an Anglo-Indian and as such could not be deported from India by the Government. In fact, however, editorial responsibilities were also shared by Mr. James Sutherland and Mr. Sanford Arnot.¹³ They were both Englishmen and Arnot, having no license for residence in India was the most vulnerable for any action by Government.

10. Reply to Question No. 613; Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1834, Vol. 9, Paper 601, p. 76.

11. Reply to Question No. 292 of Buckingham's examination on May 23, 1826; *ibid.*, p. 17.

12. Reply to Question No. 325 of Buckingham's Examination on May 23, 1826; *ibid.*, p. 19.

13. Reply to Question No. 286 of Buckingham's examination; *ibid.*, p. 16.

The policy of John Adam towards the Press, particularly the hostility towards the *Calcutta Journal*, was initially followed unaltered by Lord Amherst.

In the *Calcutta Journal* on August 30, 1823, there appeared an article¹⁴—"The Reverend Dr. Bryce : Dr. Bryce's letter to the Honorable Sir Antony Buller, Knight." Government took exception to a passage in it which referred banteringly to the deportation of Mr. Buckingham¹⁵ and attributed the authorship of this to both Mr. Sandys and Mr. Arnot. But Mr. Sandys being an East Indian could not be subjected to any direct mark of the displeasure of the Government suitable to the occasion. So the Governor General in Council resolved that Mr. Arnot should be sent to England and then on September 4, 1823, Mr. Arnot was summoned to the Police Court and was apprised of the Government decision by the Magistrate.¹⁶ He was ordered to leave the shores of India for England and to furnish securities to that effect.¹⁷

Mr. Arnot did not furnish securities as directed and accordingly on September 12, 1823, was taken into custody by the Police for detention till deportation.¹⁸ But on application from Mr. Arnot, the Supreme Court issued Writ of Habeas Corpus¹⁹ and after due hearing released him from custody on September 19, 1823.²⁰ Apprehending fresh troubles Mr. Arnot went over to the French Settlement at Chandernagore. But he was again forcibly seized by a military officer, under a second warrant signed by Lord Amherst and was practically "taken out of his bed" and placed as a prisoner on board the *Fame*, in the river Hooghly, going to Europe round by Bencoolen and which had the direction to wait there four or five months for Sir Stamford Raffles, the governor. The accommodation on board the *Fame* was fully booked by Sir Stamford and in consequence Mr. Arnot was compelled to mess with the boatswain and carpenter. The Captain had possibly the direction not to let Mr. Arnot leave the

14. *Calcutta Journal*, August 30, 1823, pp. 833-837.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 833.

16. *Ibid.*, September 6, 1823, p. 85.

17. *Ibid.*

18. *Ibid.*, September 13, 1823, p. 181.

19. *John Bull*, September 18, 1823.

20. *Calcutta Journal*, September 20, 1823, p. 277.

vessel till she arrived in England and it was only at the humane interference of Sir Stamford that Mr. Arnot could obtain leave to go on shore at Bencoolen as he was afflicted with a bilious complaint. The *Fame* caught fire and abandoned the voyage. Assisted by Sir Stamford, Arnot returned to Bengal and petitioned the Government to let him try his fortune in Calcutta (in profession other than the Press). But Government rejected his prayer and Mr. Arnot had to leave India for England.²¹

The vindictiveness of the Government of Lord Amherst against Arnot would be further evident from the fact that on return to Calcutta from Bencoolen he got the offer of an employment at Rs. 400/- per month and in fact was employed as a teacher of English in the school set up by the natives (with whom Raja Rammohun Roy was associated) who were eager to secure facilities for English instruction for their countrymen.²²

Subsequent to the order for deportation of Mr. Arnot, the Government by an order withdrew the licence for publication of the *Calcutta Journal*, on the 9th of November, 1823.²³ The ground alleged for this action was the republication in successive issues,²⁴ with some comments thereon, the pamphlet by Col. Licester Stanhope—“*Sketches of the history and influence of the Free Press in British India.*”

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On reaching the shores of England, Buckingham approached the Court of Directors and the India Office for licence to return to India and to reside there. But his prayer was rejected by both the authorities.²⁵

21. (a) Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, New Series, Vol. XI, Proceedings on May 25, 1824; pp. 862-864.

(b) Debate at East India House, December 22, 1824; *Asiatic Journal*, January, 1825, pp. 64-80.

22. Despatch from the Court of Directors to the Government of Bengal, dated 6th July 1825; Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1834, Vol. 8, Paper, 601 Appendix p. 129.

23. Reply to Question No. 103 of Examination of Buckingham on May 18, 1826, before the Select Committee, *ibid.*, p. 6.

24. *Calcutta Journal*, October 22 (pp. 700-02), 23 (pp. 716-18), 24 (p. 734), 25 (pp. 748-50), 27 (pp. 764-66), 28 (pp. 780-82) and 29 (pp. 795-797), 1823.

25. Reply to Question No. 613; *ibid.*, pp. 73-74.

It needs to be mentioned that the Court of Directors could not grant him fresh licence for return to India and residence therein nor the Board of Control could interfere for him in this regard. For, either of these would mean virtual rejection of the policy of the Governor-General in Council in India towards the Press there. Had he sought for financial relief possibly the same would have been granted to him.¹

At the same time Buckingham was also working to enlighten the English public of his case and to rouse public opinion in his favour. He addressed a 'Letter to the Editor' to some of the London papers giving in details his own version of the case. The *Sun* published it with favourable editorial comments.²

Buckingham's case got good coverage in other London papers also such as the *Globe* and the *Travellers*.³

In England Buckingham could find advocates for him and for the cause for which he was fighting—the freedom of the Press in India—both amongst the Proprietors of the East India Stock and Members of the Parliament.

Two Special General Court of Proprietors of the East India Stock had to be held on requisition on July 9⁴ and 23,⁵ 1824, and the Quarterly General Court of Proprietors on December 22, 1826,⁶ had to discuss matters relating to the banishment of Buckingham and Arnot from India in which Mr. John Adam and Lord Amherst came under heavy fire. In the Court on December 22, 1824, some of the Proprietors talked of initiating proceedings in the Parliament for "impeaching those parties."⁷

From now on these matters would, off and on, be raised in the Court of Proprietors of the East India Stock.

On May 25, 1824, the case of the *Calcutta Journal* was

1. *English Gentleman* extracted in the *John Bull*, June 3, 1826.
2. *Sun*, September 6, 1823: "The Liberty of the Press."
3. *Asiatic Journal*, July 1824, p. 35.
4. Debates at East India House, July 9, 1824: Press in India; *Asiatic Journal*, August 1824, pp. 171-209.
5. Special General Court of Proprietors held on July 23, 1824, at the East India House; *ibid.*, September, 1824, pp. 270-307.
6. Debates at East India House, December 22, 1824; *ibid.*, January 1825, pp. 64-80.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 68.

brought up before the House of Commons by the Hon'ble Mr. Lambton, M.P. (subsequently Lord Durham). In all, seven M. Ps. and the Foreign Secretary Mr. Canning took part in the debate over the case.⁸

It again came up there for a lengthened debate on February 24, 1825, on a motion of Mr. Hume.⁹

These proceedings on the floors of the East India House and the House of Commons could draw much "attention and sympathy" in favour of Mr. Buckingham to the chagrin of the authorities of the East India Co.¹⁰ The extent of this sympathy is well borne out by an appeal by 40 signatories imploring the European and native community "to contribute in the mode and measure best suited to their position, and most agreeable to their feelings, to the relief of a man (Mr. Buckingham) on whom misfortune has fallen with so heavy a hand."¹¹ The signatories included 26 M. P.'s, public men of respect and reputation like the Hon'ble Leicester Stanhope and Henry Meredith Parker, philosopher like Jeremy Bentham, military man like General Sir John D'Almeida, men from the legal profession, Bankers, and reverend gentlemen of the Church.

The response to the appeal was spontaneous as we get from the *Bengal Harkaru*¹² :

"We have much pleasure in announcing that the sum collected in England by the last advice amounted to above £ 4000.

"The subscription at this Presidency alone are about sicca Rupees 9000 and we hope shortly to hear that it is doubled by contributions from the Mofussil. At Madras and Bombay together we expect a similar sum will be realised . . ."

It deserves to be mentioned in this connection that inspite of

8. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, New Series, Vol. XI, Proceedings on May 25, 1824; pp. 858-890.

9. Ibid., Vol. XII, Proceedings on February 24, 1825, p. 654.

10. Reply to Question No. 613; Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1834, Vol. 8, Paper 601, p. 83.

11. Reply to Question No. 633 of the examination of Buckingham on July 17, 1834; *ibid.*, p. 158.

12. *Bengal Harkaru*, October 28, 1826.

apprehension of severe displeasure of the Government then presided over by Lord Amherst there were many who did come forward to show their regard openly for Mr. Buckingham, as would be evident from the following advertisement which appeared in the *India Gazette*¹³ :

“Engraving of Mr. Buckingham : In consequence of its being now certain that Mr. Buckingham will not be permitted to return to India, it has occurred to the Advertiser that the numerous Friends and Admirers of that gentleman still resident in the country would be glad to procure some appropriate mementos of him. Under this impression he has been encouraged to purchase a very fine likeness of him . . . From this he proposes to have an elegant plate engraved to be executed by an eminent European artist . . . to be published by subscribers at 8 rupees per copy . . . those who are desirous of procuring copies of the Engraving are recommended to be early in their application to Mr. P.S. De Rozario, Printer of the late *Calcutta Journal*.”

In spite of all the hazards the scheme succeeded as would be evident from another advertisement in the *Bengal Harkaru* :¹⁴

“Engraving of Mr. Buckingham : This Elegant Engraving executed in the best style by a very skilful artist is now in course of delivery and subscribers who may not have received their copies are requested to send for them without delay . . .”

In the Parliamentary Session from March 20, to June 1, 1826, the matters relating to the *Calcutta Journal* again came up before the House of Commons on May 9 when on the proposal of Lord John Russel a Select Committee was appointed to examine the whole matter, 43 M. P.'s supporting the move against 40 who opposed it.¹⁵ Unfortunately, shortly after this the House of Commons was dissolved and the Committee came to an end.¹⁶ Subsequently, in 1834, another Select Committee was appointed

13. *India Gazette*, November 29, 1824.

14. *Bengal Harkaru*, June 22, 1825.

15. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, New Series, Vol. XV, pp. 1004-1014.

16. Reply to Question No. 613 ; Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1834, Vol. 8, Paper 601, p. 84.

which completed enquiry and recommended for compensation to Buckingham for his *Calcutta Journal*.¹⁷

All these—the proceedings in the East India House and in the House of Commons ultimately leading to the appointment of a Select Committee to enquire into the suppression of the *Calcutta Journal* and the growing interest of a section of the British Press and public—had a sobering influence on the authorities in the administration of the Indian affairs.

In the Court of Proprietors of the East India Stock no motion condemning the Government of India could be passed for want of majority when put to vote. But the Court of Directors took actions which meant virtual condemnation of the actions of the Government of India, on many points.

First, in their letter in the Public Department, dated November 5, 1823, to the Governor General in India the Court of Directors issued positive order for annulment of the appointment of Dr. Bryce as the Clerk of the Stationery Committee which they deemed “as objectionable on general principles that a clergyman should hold a civil office under the Government.”¹⁸

Secondly, as the incidents relating to Arnot's deportation became known the Court of Directors proposed a grant of £ 1500 to him which was unanimously voted in the Court of Proprietors in the meeting on September 26, 1825.¹⁹ (Mr. Arnot received almost a hero's welcome in his native town, Cupar in Fife, where a public dinner was arranged in his honour.²⁰ This is indicative of the degree of public sympathy in his favour).

Then, in their Despatch dated July 6, 1825, on the deportation of Mr. Arnot, the Court of Directors issued a caution to the Governor General in Council for their dealing with the Press in India :

“We are satisfied that it is essential to the security of the public interest, that our Governments in India should possess

17. Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1835, Vol. 2, Paper 552, pp. 1-3, and Vol. 39, Paper 393, pp. 1-3.

18. Copy submitted before the Selected Committee by Buckingham in course of his reply to Question No. 613 ; *ibid.*, p. 74.

19. Debate at the East India House on September 28, 1825 ; *Asiatic Journal*, issue of November 1825, p. 574.

20. *Bengal Harkaru*, March 4, 1828.

the means of checking abuses of the press, but this power should be exercised with moderation and forbearance, as every unnecessary and harsh exercise of it is not only injurious to the character of our Government, but tends to bring into question the expediency... of placing it in their hands."²¹

Further, the debates in the House of Commons and in the Court of Proprietors contained direct references that the hostile relation of the *John Bull*, of which Rev. Dr. Bryce was the managing editor, with the *Calcutta Journal* of James Silk Buckingham, had a baneful effect on John Adam and Lord Amherst in determining their attitude towards Buckingham and the *Calcutta Journal*. And, presumably out of these, the Court of Directors did think that it would be more in the interest of the East India Company to prohibit the relation of their servants with the periodical Press in India. Accordingly, in the Public General Letter to the Governor General in India dated the 30th of December, 1825,²² they ordered "positive prohibition against any Person in our Service, either Civil, Naval, or Military' Surgeons and Chaplains included, connecting himself with any Newspaper or other Periodical Journal (unless devoted exclusively to Literary and Scientific objects) whether as Editor, Sole Proprietor or Sharer in the Property."

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In an editorial article, the *John Bull* reviewed the treatment of Mr. Buckingham and Mr. Arnot by the authorities in England and the influence of the same on the Indian Administration²³ : "We may easily imagine the effect, naturally produced on the mind of the Government (of India) by these circumstances. They saw those, whom they had been under the disagreeable necessity of punishing... patronised and rewarded; and they felt, that this was equivalent in the eye of the public to their own

21. Despatch of the Court of Directors to the Bengal Government dated July 6, 1825; Report from the Select Committee on the suppression of the *Calcutta Journal*, Appendix p. 130 : Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1834, Vol. 8, Paper 601.

22. Notification published in the Government Gazette, May 18, 1826.

23. *John Bull*, May 22, 1826.

condemnation." This appears to be largely a reflection of the official sentiment in India.

The Government became restrained in its application of the provisions of the Press Regulations even during the administration of Lord Amherst, and the only paper suppressed in Bengal by the Government since the case of the *Calcutta Journal* was the *Calcutta Chronicle*. The license for this was withdrawn by Government on March 31, 1827.²⁴

The Press Regulations of John Adam still remained in the Statute Book but without application since the case of the *Calcutta Chronicle* and on his arrival in India Lord William Bentinck did find "the press at Calcutta...enjoying practically as much freedom as in England."²⁵

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Bentinck as he left shores of England as the successor of Lord Amherst was definitely well aware of the sentiment in different quarters, both in India and England, over the freedom of Press in India. He occupied himself with the problem shortly after his landing in Calcutta (on July 4, 1828) and he wrote a detailed minute on it on January 6, 1829.¹

Unlike his predecessors in office—Lord Hastings, John Adam or Lord Amherst—Bentinck made a pragmatic approach to the whole issue. He believed that "very great evil" might arise from "an unrestricted liberty of the Press."² But a practical analysis of the whole situation made him convinced that there was no good ground for apprehension.

Freedom of the Press in India for all practical purposes at that time meant the freedom for the English press under the management and control of the Englishmen. And Bentinck made an assessment of the influence of the English Press on the native mind on the basis of two reports—one from the Post Master General, on the extent of circulation of English papers to the natives by post, out of Calcutta, and the other from the Persian

24. *Government Gazette*, June 4, 1827.

25. Bentinck's minute on the Press dated January 6, 1829; *The correspondences of Lord William Cavendish Bentinck*, edited by C.H. Philips, 1977, Vol. I, p. 136.

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 136-37.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 136.

Secretary on the extent of circulation of native newspapers containing translations from the leading articles of the English papers.

The report of the Post Master General revealed that of the leading English papers in the Presidency, viz., the *Bengal Harkaru*, the *John Bull*, the *India Gazette* and the *Government Gazette*, on an average only 10 copies were circulated by post daily to the native subscribers out of Calcutta—one copy of the *Bengal Harkaru* to Santipore, one copy of the *John Bull* to Jungipore (in Murshidabad district of the present days), one copy of the *India Gazette* to a native Parsee at Bombay and seven copies of the *Government Gazette*, one each to Lucknow, Chandernagore (then a French Settlement), Burdwan, Ludhiana (in the Punjab), Cawnpore, Santipore and Murshidabad.³

The report from the Persian Secretary revealed the extreme limitation from which the newspapers in the vernacular languages or Persian suffered from want of support and variety of contents. According to this report "a native newspaper, in the present state of the Indian society, is a luxury for which there is no real demand beyond the limits of Calcutta and that consequently few or no copies will find a sale in the interior."⁴

Bentinck's assessment of the situation on the basis of these two reports was⁵: "Out of Calcutta therefore as respects our native population, the public press has not any influence.... In Calcutta there are...rich and enlightened natives, and the Hindu College add every year to their number... But these are few in number, having little influence upon the Population within this city and none whatever on the rest of India... As a body they seem incapable of political mischief, and the public press may be said to be as innocuous in Calcutta as out of it." Hence Bentinck took the decision "to leave press alone."⁶

As Bentinck's policy towards the press in India was not based on any philosophy but on a pragmatic approach it could be modi-

3. Return A—enclosure to Bentinck's Minute on the Press, dated January 6, 1829; *ibid.*, p. 138.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 139.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

fied on practical necessity when the occasion would demand that. The occasion arose over the half-batta question in 1830. Shortly after the commencement of his governor-generalship Lord Bentinck reduced the batta of the army to half.⁷ There was general protest from army against the order and the Governor-General had to suspend it pending reference to the Home authorities.

The Court of Directors finally ordered the half-batta.⁸ Bentinck in the background of his past experience was highly apprehensive of the severe criticism in the press of this order. So he became determined to restrict the liberty of the press, of course limitedly,—“to prevent as far as may be possible, the publication of remarks (the disrespectful nature of which may be too certainly anticipated) that this despatch will call forth.”⁹

On this occasion he wrote a minute on September 6, 1830, and in it we get reflection of his real conception of the freedom of Press in India—that Press should enjoy freedom only at the discretion of the Government¹⁰: “. . . I retain my former opinion, that the liberty of the press is a most useful engine in promoting the good administration of the country . . . But I have always said and thought, that as well with the liberty of the press as of the subject, it was indispensable for the safety of the empire that the Governor-General-in-Council should have the power of suspending the one and of transmitting the other whenever the safety of the State should call for the exercise of such authority . . .”

A Circular letter dated September 6, 1835, was issued to the editors of the Calcutta papers accordingly—“to acquaint you that you are prohibited from admitting into your paper any comments on the letter from the Honourable the Court of Directors” (ordering half-batta).¹¹

Bentinck's notions for limited freedom for the Press in India came to the surface on another occasion—shortly before he left India on relinquishment of his office. On the 5th day of January,

7. Ibid., p. 106.

8. Report from the Select Committee on the suppression of the *Calcutta Journal*, Appendix p. 139; Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1834, Vol. 8, Paper N. 601.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid., p. 140.

11. Report from the Select Committee on the Suppression of the *Calcutta Journal*, Appendix p. 142; *ibid.*

1835, in the Town Hall in Calcutta, there was a public meeting and in that it was decided that a deputation should wait on the Governor General with a petition praying for abrogation of the Press Regulations of 1823. Accordingly a deputation met the Governor General and got the reply¹² : "... That in his opinion in this country some power ought to be lodged somewhere (and he supposed it would be conceded in the hands of the Council) to interfere in a summary manner and come down upon the press when it should appear to be dangerous to the safety of the state. That subject to such emergency he was decidedly in favour of the freedom of the press in this country...."

Hence Lord Bentinck did not rescind the Press Regulations of 1823 as was then demanded. Commenting on Bentinck's policy towards the Press, the native paper *Reformer* wrote : "We admit that Lord William Bentinck virtually allowed the press to act as if it were free, but yet these regulations continued to form a part and parcel of the laws, and thus like a sharp sword hung by a single thread over the heads of all the public writers paralysed their best efforts."¹³

On March 20, 1835, Sir Charles Metcalfe took over charge as the Governor-General of India, ad interim. His sentiment towards freedom of the Press was already known through his minute dated September 6, 1830 over the proposal of Lord Bentinck to prohibit the Press from making comments on the Court of Directors' letter finally ordering the half-batta : "I have... always advocated the liberty of the press, believing its benefits to outweigh its mischiefs...."¹⁴

Shortly after taking charge as the Governor-General of India, he brought up the question of the Liberty for the Press in India before the Supreme Council and in his minute dated April 17, 1835, expressed his views for annulment of the Press Regulations of 1823 and enactment of a new legislation for ensuring this liberty.¹⁵

12. *Friend of India*, January 29, 1835, p. 35.

13. *Reformer* extracted in the *Calcutta Courier*, May 4, 1835.

14. Report from the Select Committee on the Suppression of the *Calcutta Journal*, Appendix p. 141; Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1834, Vol. 8, Paper 601.

15. Supplemental Appendix to Report from the Select Committee on Indian Territories; *ibid.*, 1852-53, Vol. 29, Paper 897-I, pp. 5-6.

The Law Member of the Council, Mr. Macaulay, in his minute dated April 16, 1835, concurred with him on these points. But according to him the "question before the Government is not whether the Press shall be free but whether being free, it shall be called free." For, "the newspapers here for years have been allowed as ample a measure of practical liberty as that which they enjoy in England."

The other member of the Supreme Council, Col. Morrison also in his minute opined for enactment for freedom of the press but suggested an invidious action for native press—"that it should be made the duty of some responsible officer to watch the operations and be acquainted with all the proceedings of the native press."¹⁶

Sir Charles did not agree to this suggestion of Col. Morrison for discrimination between the English and Native press and in his minute dated April 27, 1835, he met this point¹⁷: "... I think that in all our legislation, we ought to be careful not to make invidious distinctions between European and native subjects. As the proposed law now stands, it will be an act of grace, confidence and conciliation towards all, and may be expected to produce the effect which such acts are calculated to produce; but if it were alloyed by enactments indicating distrust towards our native fellow-subjects, the effect could not fail to be bad on their minds... I am therefore of opinion that any restraint on the native press, beyond what is imposed on the European, would be injudicious..."

In the background of this minute by Sir Charles Metcalfe we may examine the attitude of the British Government in India towards the Native Press.

It is to be particularly noticed that the Press Regulations of 1823 did not in any way differentiate between the Native Press and the Press under European management.

In fact some years after the passing of the Regulations of 1823, when in November, 1829, "New Rules for Newspaper Postages" was promulgated,¹⁸ decided favour was shown to the Native

16. Ibid.

17. Supplemental Appendix to Reports from the Select Committee on Indian Affairs; Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1852-53, Vol. 29, Paper 897-I, pp. 6-7.

18. Notified in the *Government Gazette*, December 24, 1829.

Press. Native newspapers and periodicals could be despatched throughout India through Post Offices at half the rate fixed for the English papers. This was a subject matter for jubilation by the native papers.¹⁹

Freedom for the Native Press was made a subject of enquiry by the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company, 1831-32, and questions in this regard were put on the witnesses having extensive experience in India.

Thus Sir Charles Lushington (who was a Secretary to the Government of India for 10 years out of which 2 years as the Chief Secretary) was asked²⁰ : "Is it your opinion that the encouragement of native journals might be made the means of conveying information highly beneficial to the natives of India?" To this he replied : "Unquestionably ; but I would exercise a very close supervision over them, for fear they should be the means of doing mischief to the native army ; in fact, the native army is the only body which is to be considered now-a-days with regard to the press. I think the press may continue just as free and just as licentious as Indian politicians may desire, so long as the infection does not spread to the native army. . . . I think it is of the highest importance that the native journals should be carefully scrutinised, and my opinion is that this salutary supervision was rather too much neglected in the former days. . . ."

Then, Mr. N.B. Edmonstone (Secretary to the Government of India for 8 years, Chief Secretary for 3 years and then Member of the Supreme Council for 5 years and retired as the Vice-President in the Council) was asked²¹ : "Are you of opinion that it would be expedient to put the native press under closer restrictions than the European press should be subjected to?" His reply was : "I should think not. It could not, in my opinion, have any beneficial result ; indeed as it would be calculated to excite suspicion in the mind of the natives it might rather have a prejudicial than a beneficial effect."

19. *Bengal Herald*, November 14, 1829, p. 397.

20. Question No. 988 and reply to that ; examination of Sir C. Lushington, on March 8, 1832, Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1831-32, Vol. 9, Paper 735-I, pp. 114-115.

21. Question No. 1644 and reply to that ; examination of Mr. N.B. Edmonstone on April 16, 1832 ; *ibid.*, p. 207.

Hon'ble Monstuart Elphinstone also expressed his opinion on this question through his letter dated August 5, 1832, to Thomas Hyde Villiers, Secretary to the Commissioners for the Affairs of India.²² He was highly apprehensive of the dangers from the freedom of Press in India—"If all (the Press in India, both under English and native management) be free, we shall be in a predicament such as no state has yet experienced." But none-the-less he did not favour imposition of any restrictions especially for the Native Press : "This will create discontent and lead to disputes with native editors and will end in the abandonment of control over them also. So that it may be taken for granted, that if the European press be free, the native one cannot long be otherwise."

The Press law of Sir Charles Metcalfe (Act XI of 1835) was passed in the Council on the 3rd of August 1835, to take effect from the 15th of September next. In brief it repealed the earlier Press Regulations and enacted instead²³ (a) that the printer and publisher of every printed periodical works containing public news or comments on public news should sign a declaration before a Magistrate to the effect that they are the printer and publisher of the same (it is noticeable that no oath was required for confirming the declaration, an element against which Raja Rammohun Roy was particularly vocal in his protest against the Adamite Regulations of 1823), (b) that every printed book or paper shall contain the name of printer and publisher and place of printing and publication, (c) that no person should have printing press in his possession without a declaration before a Magistrate that he had such a press, (d) for default the offending parties would be liable to fine for a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,000/- or to imprisonment for term not exceeding two years.

Naturally this was received with the highest applause in India. But the reaction of the Court of Directors, as would be natural, was unfavourable to the extreme and they would even annul it but for the apprehension of a row it would give rise both in India and England and possibly richer with the experience of Buckingham's case they did not venture to that. In a lengthened Despatch

22. Report from the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company, 1831-32; Appendix A(5), Appendix p. 295; *ibid.*
23. Supplement to the *Calcutta Gazette*, August 5, 1835.

in unequivocal language they censured Sir Charles for conferring freedom on the Indian Press.²⁴

For this hostile attitude of the Court of Directors the Indian Press apprehended for years curtailment of its liberty by an order from the Home authorities and in fact a rumour spread out in Calcutta in January 1838, that "a despatch had arrived from the Court of Directors, ordering the shackles to be imposed anew on the press."²⁵ The Indian Press, however, was left to enjoy the liberty bestowed on it by Act XI of 1835 till the enactment on June 13, 1857, (during the days of the Sepoy Mutiny) of Act XV of 1857.

A few years after the liberation of the Press by Sir Charles Metcalfe came the order for withdrawal of the prohibition on the connection of the servants of the East India Company with the Press¹ imposed in 1826.²

This prohibition was withdrawn as it was thought to be detrimental to the interest of the East India Company itself in the changed circumstances of the time. The Act XI of 1835 completely ended authority of Government on the Press. And it was hoped that the servants of the Company "who would naturally have a strong bias in favour of Government" could defend the Government in public prints from the invectives and calumnies which might be poured on the Government by the public papers.³

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By the middle of March 1857, there occurred instances of mutiny by the native Sepoys in a number of Cantonments and the English Press in Bengal under European management hinted that the mutinous spirit of the Sepoys was due to the writings in the native journals and wrote advocating restrictions by Government on the liberty of the native Press.

24. Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1857-58, Vol. 43, Paper 253, pp. 26-27.

25. *Friend of India*, February 1, 1838, p. 33.

1. Notification published in the *Calcutta Gazette*, June 30, 1841.

2. Notification published in the *Government Gazette*, May 18, 1826.

3. Appendix to Reports from the Select Committee on Indian Affairs, Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1852-53, Vol. 29, Paper 897-I, pp. 7-9.

By June 1857, the Mutiny became widespread and on June 12, the Governor General in Council passed a "Resolution" determining upon restrictions on the Press in India.⁴ The "Resolution" detailed how "certain native newspapers published in Calcutta" were endeavouring to excite discontent and hatred towards the Government "in the minds of its native subjects" and expressed the determination to vest the Executive Government with the control over the Press, and the power to suppress summarily publications containing treasonable or seditious matter, or otherwise infringing the conditions which may be imposed on them."

Accordingly on the next day (June 13, 1857) a Bill was presented before the Legislative Council. Through the proposed Act the Government intended to restrict the freedom of the Indian Press but without any discrimination between the two segments—one under the European management and the other under the native. And in his speech in the Council on the occasion the Governor General clarified this point—"I do not see any reason, nor do I consider it possible in justice, to draw a line of demarcation between European and Native publications. The Bill, accordingly, applied to every kind of publication, whatever the language in which it may be printed, or the nation of the persons who are responsible for what is put forth in it."⁵

The Council passed the Bill on the same day into an Act—Act XV of 1857. The main provisions of this Act were⁶ :

(a) None should "keep or use any printing press or types or other materials or articles for printing without having obtained the previous sanction and licence" from Government which should be issued only on application "verified by the oath, affirmation or solemn declaration of the proprietors."

(b) The Governor General in Council or the Executive Government of any Presidency by order published in the *Govern-*

4. Home Department Resolution dated June 12, 1857 ; Papers Relating to the Public Press in India ; *ibid.*, 1857-58, Vol. 43, Paper 253 ; p. 34.

5. *Ibid.*

6. Act XV of 1857 ; *Calcutta Gazette*, Extraordinary, June 13, 1857.

ment Gazette might prohibit the publication or circulation "of any particular newspaper, book or other printed paper or any newspaper, book or printed paper of any particular description." None should "knowingly" import, publish, or circulate any such book or paper.

(c) For violation of each of the above provisions the delinquent would on conviction be liable "to a fine not exceeding 5,000 rupees, or to imprisonment not exceeding two years or both."

The provisions of this Act were to remain in force for one year only.

Subsequently Government by an Executive Order laid down the condition upon which licence under provisions of Act XV of 1857 would be granted. It was that "no book, newspaper, pamphlet, or other work printed at such press, or with such materials, or articles", should contain any observations or statements impugning the motives or designs of the British Government either in England or India or in any way tend to bring it into hatred or contempt, or excite dissatisfaction or unlawful resistance to its orders, or weaken the lawful authority of its civil or military servants or create alarm or suspicion among the native population of any intended interference by Government with their religious opinion and observations or weaken the friendship towards the British Government of Native Princes, Chiefs or states in dependance upon or alliance with it. This condition was to apply equally to original matter and to matter copied from publications.⁷

It would appear that neither the Act XV nor the Executive Order issued under it contained anything discriminating between the Press under the native and European management.

Lord Canning for his dealing with the Press got the unqualified approbation from the Court of Directors who wrote⁸: "We entertain no doubt, of the necessity of some such measure, and

7. Home Department Notification No. 1142 dt. June 18, 1857, published in the *Calcutta Gazette*, June 20, 1857.

8. Extract Public Letter to India dated August 26 (No. 120) 1857; Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1857-58, Vol. 43, Paper 253, p. 30.

have entire confidence in your discretion as to the mode in which, under your orders, effect will be given to it."

The Act XV of 1857, had a mixed reception in the circle of the native English Press. Of the two leading papers of the time, the *Hindu Intelligencer* of Kashi Prasad Ghosh and the *Hindoo Patriot* of Hurish Chunder Mukherjee, the former immediately went off publication with the notice that "the editor won't work under restraint, such as the new Press law imposes on public writers."⁹ The *Hindoo Patriot* however continued with the following notice¹⁰: "The liberty of the Press has been suspended for a year. We believe it incurs no danger. To be held in terrorem over newspapers, it will simply make them a little cautious in publishing statements of an alarming or a seditious kind. For ourselves we have not yet known what conditions are to be imposed upon the publication of this journal... The law is not likely to be administered except in a liberal spirit..."

The predominant section of the English Press and the non-official English residents became highly agitated over the Act XV of 1857. Their agitation was however not so much for the fact that the freedom of the Press had been restrained as for the fact that both the English and the Native Press had been treated equally and placed on an identical footing.

In the "Petition of the Inhabitants of Calcutta for the Recall of the Governor General"¹¹ this Act XV of 1857 was cited as one of the grievances and this indiscriminate treatment was highly complained of.

The English papers under European management obtained licence as required under Act XV of 1857 and then manifested a spirit of defiance. But the Government of Lord Canning was bent upon enforcing compliance as the following cases would exhibit.

9. *Hindoo Patriot*, June 25, 1857, p. 202.

10. *Ibid.*, June 18, 1857, p. 197.

11. Copies of the Petition forwarded to the Court of Directors of the East India Company with the letter of the Governor General in Council dated November 10, 1857; Home Department No. 130 of 1857; Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1857-58, Vol. 43, Paper 73, pp. 2-11.

(a) The *Friend of India* : Shortly after obtaining the licence it published an editorial article¹²—"The Centenary of Plassey." In the judgement of his Lordship-in-Council, the hints in it were "fraught with mischief, and calculated at the present time to spread dissatisfaction towards the British Government, both among its native subjects and among dependent and allied states" and an warning was issued that "the repetition of remarks of this dangerous nature" would be followed by the withdrawal of licence.¹³ But the warning went unheeded and in the article "The First Warning" the Government's policy towards the Press was severely criticised.¹⁴ Government in consequence would have revoked the licence but for an assurance from the representatives of the absentee proprietor (John C. Marshman who was then in England) that "the newspaper shall, during his absence, be carried on so as to avoid all cause of complaint, and within the terms of license."¹⁵

(2) The *Dacca News* : In it, on August 1, 1857, appeared an article—"The Tenure of Land by Europeans in India."¹⁶ This drew forth a warning from Government¹⁷ which made the proprietor restrained for the rest of the period.

(3) The *Bengal Harkaru* : In the issue of September 5, 1857, there appeared a letter to the editor titled "Extreme Measures" in which the policy of the Government towards the rebels in particular and the natives in general was characterised as "cowardly imbecility."¹⁸ And by letter No. 1829 dated September 11, 1857, from C. Beadon Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, to

12. *Friend of India*, June 25, 1857, p. 601.

13. Letter from C. Beadon Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, to A.R. Young Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated June 29, 1857; Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1857-58, Vol. 43, Paper 253, pp. 44-45.

14. *Friend of India*, July 2, 1857, p. 626.

15. Letter from C. Beadon Esq., to A.R. Young Esq., dated July 3, 1857; *ibid.*, p. 46.

16. *Dacca News*, August 1, 1857, pp. 294-295.

17. Letter dated August 7, 1857, bearing No. 456 from the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Magistrate of Dacca and communicated to A. Forbes Esq., proprietor of the *Dacca News*; republished in the *Dacca News*, August 15, 1857, p. 322.

18. *Bengal Harkaru*, September 5, 1857.

W. Sims Esq., proprietor of the *Bengal Harkaru*, warning was issued for cancellation of the licence for "any further observations or statements of alike nature."¹⁹ The warning was defied through an editorial article²⁰ and a letter to the editor.²¹ Immediately the licence for the publication of the *Bengal Harkaru* was revoked²² and on September 19, 1857, the following circular was issued from the *Bengal Harkaru* office for the subscribers²³ : "Dear Sir,—Owing to Government having taken offence at the tone assumed by the *Harkaru*, we beg to inform you that we are unable to send you a copy of the Journal until the further decision of the Indian Government be known..." On this stern display of determination by Government the proprietor of the *Bengal Harkaru* expressed "regret" and even offered a change in the editorial chair (to relieve Mr. Blanchard, the then editor).²⁴ The "law having been vindicated" thus, a fresh licence was issued by Government to the *Bengal Harkaru*.²⁵

(4) The *Englishman* : In its issue dated October 5, 1857, was reprinted an article from the London Paper, the *Press*, heading "The Government of India" and this drew forth an immediate letter of warning from the Government of India.¹ The proprietor-editor of the *Englishman* subsequently did nothing for any further complain by the Government.

(5) The native proprietor of a periodical against whom action had to be taken was Hafiz Abdul Kadir, the proprietor of the

19. Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1857-58, Vol. 43, Paper 253, pp. 60-61.

20. Editorial in *Bengal Harkaru*, September 14, 1857.

21. "Indian Administration" in *Bengal Harkaru*, September 15, 1857.

22. Letter No. 1886 from C. Beadon to William Sims, dated September, 18, 1857; Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1857-58, Vol. 43, Paper 253, p. 63.

23. Circular extracted in the *Hindoo Patriot*, September 24, 1857, p. 305.

24. Letter from William Sims, Esqr., to C. Beadon, Esqr., dated September 18, 1857; Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1857-58, Vol. 43, Paper 253, pp. 63-64.

25. Letter from C. Beadon to W. Sims, Esqr., dated September 23, 1857; *ibid.*, p. 64.

1. Letter from Cecil Beadon Esq., to the proprietor of the *Englishman*, dated October 16, 1857, and bearing No. 2101; reprinted in the *Dacca News*, issue dated October 24, 1857, p. 448.

Persian paper, the *Gulshun-i-now-bahar*, and also of a lithographic press commonly called by that name. Licence was granted to him on June 21, 1857, and then in the issue of the paper on June 27, appeared two articles—one titled as “Delhi” and the other “Travancore” which in the opinion of the Governor General in Council were “of a most seditious character, clearly intended and well calculated to excite disaffection towards the British Government and to encourage resistance to its lawful authority.”² Hence the licence was revoked and the press was seized.³

(6, 7 & 8) : Actions were taken as per Home Department's Resolution dated June 12, 1857,⁴ against Ahmed Ali, the proprietor of the *Doorbeen*, and Mahomed Taheir, the registered printer of the *Sultan-ul-Akhbar*, both Persian newspapers and Shamsunder Sen, the registered printer and publisher of the *Samachar Soodhaburshun*, a newspaper in Bengali. They were arrested on the 17th of June, 1857, and indictments were preferred against them for publication of seditious libels.⁵ But on legal advice the Government decided not to press for any punishment against them beyond their giving security for good behaviour or giving recognizances to appear to receive judgement when required, provided they would plead guilty to the charge.⁶ Accordingly as the case came up for trial on July 27, 1857, Ahmed Ali and Mahomed Taheir pleaded guilty to the charges made against them and entered into recognizances to appear and receive judgement when called upon.⁷ Only the trial against Shamsundar Sen proceeded but at the end a verdict of not guilty was returned against him.⁸

2. Letter from C. Beadon Esq. to S. Wauchope Esq., Officiating Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, dated July 3, 1857; Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1857-58, Vol. 43; Paper 253, p. 47.

3. Ibid.

4. Home Department Resolution dated June 12, 1857; Paper relating to the Public Press in India; *ibid.*, p. 34.

5. Letter of F.C. Sandes, Solicitor to the East India Co., to C. Beadon Esq. dated July 29, 1857; *ibid.*, pp. 59-60.

6. Letter from W. Ritchie Esq., Advocate General to C. Beadon Esq. dated July 17, 1857; *ibid.*, pp. 55-58.

7. Letter from F.C. Sandes to C. Beadon Esq. dated July 29, 1857; *ibid.*, pp. 59-60.

8. Ibid.

Commenting on the warning from Government to the *Friend of India* and the *Bengal Harkaru* under Act XV of 1857, the *Hindoo Patriot* tauntingly wrote⁹: "There is an Arab proverb something to the effect that 'curses like chickens come home to roost'—which we may ask our European brethren of the quill and their admirers to remember. They would have seen the native press put down without a syllable of complaint; and told us that in times like these it was essential to the safety of the State etc. etc. They got a Press Law but found themselves within its operation!"

The Indian Act XV of 1857 came up for debate in the House of Lords on December 7, 1857, when Lord Granville highlighted the benefit out of non-discrimination between the native and the English Press. According to him by this "the principle of conciliating the natives has been carried out, without in the slightest degree endangering the lives, or the property, or the proper pride of the European residents."¹⁰

9. *Hindoo Patriot*, September 24, 1857, p. 309.

10. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, 3rd Series, Vol. CXLVIII, p. 25(5).

CHAPTER-III

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES :

(A) Newspaper Postage

Newspaper postage has a long history of its own in India.

Service of the Postal Department for transmission of newspapers to the subscribers was available to the newspaper proprietors since the appearance of *Hicky's Bengal Gazette* which had many subscribers "on the coast and at the subordinate settlement"¹ who used to get their copy of the *Gazette* by post. Subsequently Hicky was however denied of this facility and he alleged that to ruin him Government had agreed to transmit the rival newspaper, the *India Gazette*, free of postage.² We have no definite knowledge on this point. But we learn that on an arrangement, on payment of a lump sum at a time, the *India Gazette* was conveyed to the subscribers without any further postage charge.³ Incidentally we may mention here that James Silk Buckingham was also granted the same privilege since August 27, 1819, on a lump payment of Rs. 40,000/-.⁴ This however was terminated for the opposition of the Government of Madras consequent upon the remark of the *Calcutta Journal* on the extension of the office of Mr. Elliott as governor of Madras.⁵ On March 4, 1784, Francis Gladwin, an officer of the East India Company, published the *Calcutta Gazette*. By a Notification dated March 7, 1785, Government exempted it from the charge of postage, the proprietor "having engaged to publish therein all advertisements and orders of this government gratis."⁶

1. "To the Public", in the *Bengal Gazette*, November 11, 1780.

2. *Bengal Gazette*, April 28, 1781.

3. J. N. Bose, *Romance of Journalism*, Calcutta, 1979, pp. 30-34.

4. Reply to Question No. 613; Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1834, Vol. 8, Paper 601, p. 56.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 56 and 106-107 respectively.

6. Notification published in the *Calcutta Gazette*, March 10, 1785.

Subsequent to this all exemptions from payment of Postage by the newspapers were withdrawn through a Notification dated October 4, 1787—"all Newspapers shall pay Postage after the 31st instant ; they will from that date be charged at the same rates which other letters and packets are subjected to."

Exemptions, however, still had to be made and the *Asiatic Mirror*⁸ and the *Calcutta Chronicle*⁹ were circulated postage free for long years inspite of the above Gazette Notification. Subsequently in 1831, the Government granted the *Gleanings in Science* (the periodical out of which came out the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1832) the privilege of transmission through the post office free of charge as considerable portion of its space contained print of valuable official documents of scientific nature.¹⁰

A table of rates of Postage was first published in the *Calcutta Gazette* on December 2, 1784.¹¹ The charge for newspaper postage was then the same as "other letters and packets."¹² The Table of rates in 1784 was as follows :

TABLE OF RATES OF POSTAGE FROM CALCUTTA TO THE FOLLOWING STATIONS :

	Letters weighing exactly or under 2½ Sicca weight to pay :			Letters weighing more than 2½ to 3 Sicca weight :			Letters weighing more than 3½ to 4 weight :			Letters weighing more than 4½ to 5½ weight :		
	Sa.	Rs.	As.	Sa.	Rs.	As.	Sa.	Rs.	As.	Sa.	Rs.	As.
Barrackpore	0	1		0	2		0	3	0	4		
Hooghly	0	1		0	2		0	3	0	4		
Chandernagore	0	1		0	2		0	3	0	4		

7. Notification dated October 4, 1787 ; *ibid.*, October 11, 1787.

8. *Asiatic Mirror*, May 22, 1793.

9. *Calcutta Chronicle*, September 3, 1789, January 31, 1792 and January 6, 1794.

10. "Notice to Subscribers", *Gleanings in Science*, March, 1831.

11. Selections from The *Calcutta Gazette* by W.S. Seton Karr, Calcutta (1864), Vol. I, p. 9.

12. General Post Office Notification dated October 4, 1787, in the *Calcutta Gazette*, October 11, 1787.

	Sa.	Rs.	As.	Sa.	Rs.	As.	Sa.	Rs.	As.	Sa.	Rs.	As.
Burdwan	0	2		0	4		0	6	0	8		
Moorshedabad	0	2		0	4		0	6	0	8		
Rajmahal	0	3		0	6		0	9	0	12		
Bogalpole	0	3		0	6		0	9	0	12		
Dinagepore	0	4		0	8		0	12	1	0		
Monghyr	0	4		0	8		0	12	1	0		
Patna	0	5		0	10		0	15	1	4		
Buxur	0	6		0	12		1	2	1	8		
Beneras	0	7		0	14		1	5	1	12		
Rajepoor	0	2		0	4		0	6	0	8		
Dacca	0	3		0	6		0	9	0	12		
Chittagong	0	6		0	12		1	2	1	8		
Culpee	0	2		0	4		0	6	0	8		
Midnapore	0	2		0	4		0	6	0	8		
Balasore	0	2		0	4		0	6	0	8		
Cuttack	0	3		0	6		0	9	0	12		
Ganjam	0	5		0	10		0	15	1	4		

With the gradual extension of Company's territories and with that the extension of the dawk system further lists were published in the *Calcutta Gazette* incorporating newer stations. Thus, for example, in the "Table of Rates of Postage" in 1795 we get 44 new stations.¹³

This rate of postage was not exorbitant in respect of a Weekly or Bi-weekly paper. Thus a subscriber for the *Bengal Hircarrah* (as the name then was spelt), then a Weekly,¹⁴ would not mind much a quarterly payment of a sum of rupees two and four annas as postage for Dacca, rupees three and twelve annas for Patna, rupees four and eight annas for Tirhoot, rupees nine for Hyderabad and rupees eighteen and twelve annas for Bombay, provided each weekly packet did not weigh more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ sicca rupees and double those amounts if weighed between $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ sicca rupees.

The only possible complaint that the proprietors could have was the system of payment of the postage at the time of delivery

13. *Calcutta Gazette*, Additional Supplement, March 19, 1795.

14. Advertisement; *ibid.*, January 15, 1795.

of the paper to the Post Office which would make the load of arrears heavier on the proprietors for cases of defaulting subscribers. This system was however abolished in 1812 as Government allowed the postage on Calcutta Newspapers, transmitted from the Presidency of Fort William, to be collected from the parties by whom they are received, instead of being paid in advance as heretofore.¹⁵

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The entire perspective underwent almost a revolutionary change with the appearance of the Dailies—the *Calcutta Journal* and the *Bengal Hircarrah* in May 1819¹⁶ and the *Oriental Star* in June 1820.¹⁷ Initially, in a week, the *Calcutta Journal* would have five Numbers at the monthly subscription of rupees eight,¹⁸ the *Oriental Star* six Numbers at Six rupees per month¹⁹ and the *Bengal Hircarrah* seven Numbers at Six rupees per month.²⁰

The monthly transmission charge through Post Office of these daily papers to the various stations within Company's dominion (taking a few selected examples) would be as follows, each packet weighing exactly or under 2½ sicca weight :

	<i>Calcutta Journal</i> (22 copies in a month)	<i>Oriental Star</i> (26 copies in a month)	<i>Bengal Hircarrah</i> (30 copies in a month)
<i>Stations :</i>			
Burdwan, Moorsheda- bad Midnapore and Balasore	} @ 2 Annas Rs. 2.12.0 per packet		
		Rs. 3.4.0	Rs. 3.12.0,

15. Ibid., March 5, 1821.

16. Advertisements ; *Government Gazette*, April 15, 1819, August 3, 1820.

17. Advertisement ; *ibid.*, May 25, 1820.

18. *Calcutta Journal*, July 1, 1819.

19. Advertisement ; *Government Gazette*, May 25, 1820.

20. Advertisement ; *ibid.*, August 3, 1820.

		<i>Calcutta</i> <i>Journal</i> (22 copies in a month)	<i>Oriental</i> <i>Star</i> (26 copies in a month)	<i>Bengal</i> <i>Hircarrah</i> (30 copies in a month)
Dacca and Rajmahal	} @ 3 Annas per packet	Rs. 2. 2.0	Rs. 4.14.0	Rs. 5.10.0,
Patna and Ganjam	} @ 5 Annas per packet	Rs. 6.14.0	Rs. 8. 2.0.	Rs. 9. 6.0.
Chittagonj Buxar and Tirhoot	} @ 6 Annas per packet	Rs. 8. 4.0	Rs. 9.12.0	Rs. 11. 4.0.
	@ 7 Annas			
Benares	Per packet	Rs. 9.10.0	Rs. 12. 6.0	Rs. 15. 2.0,
Hyderabad	@ 7 Annas per packet	Rs. 16.8.0	Rs. 19.8.0.	Rs. 22.8.0.
Madras	@ Rs. 1.2.6. per packet	Rs. 25.7.0	Rs. 30. 1.0	Rs. 34.11.0,
Poonah	@ Rs. 1.4.0 per packet	Rs. 27.8.0	Rs. 32.8. 0	Rs. 37. 8.0,
Bombay	@ Rs. 1.9.0 per packet	Rs. 34.6.0	Rs. 41.10.0	Rs. 48.14.0.

The enormity of the postage charge was so apparent that in January 1821, Government announced separate postage charges for Newspapers²¹ :

“First,—Newspapers published and dispatched weekly, shall be charged with Postage as single letters, provided they do not exceed Three Sicca weight.

“Secondly,—Newspapers published and dispatched twice or thrice in the week, shall be charged with Postage equal to two-thirds of the rate leviable on single Letters, provided they do not exceed Two and Half Sicca Weight.

“Thirdly,—Newspapers published and dispatched oftner than three times within the week, shall be charged with Postage

21. General Post Office Notification dated January 30, 1821; *ibid.*, February 1, 1821.

equal to one-half of the rate leviable on single Letters, provided they do not exceed Two Sicca Weight."

This concession went to a long way but could not satisfy the newspaper proprietors and distant subscribers and the issue of newspaper postage went on being discussed in the columns of the dailies.²²

In course of this discussion the *Bengal Harkaru* offered a suggestion—"We... propose a meeting of the Proprietors and Editors be held... and that proposal to Government shall then be agreed upon, or... that the respective wishes and opinion being there made known, a Committee be appointed to draw up a letter of the kind required."²³ The suggested meeting took place but "nothing was agreed to and nothing done."²⁴ Nonetheless an application was made to Government through a joint memorial of the proprietors of the *John Bull*, the *Bengal Harkaru* and the *Scotsman in the East* for a partial reduction of postage²⁵: "the highest amount of postage now paid on Newspapers despatched daily by Dauk is not less than Ten Annas on each paper, which amounts almost to a prohibition; and we beg to propose that henceforth, the paper which now pay Three Annas and half and less daily shall still continue do to so; and that all other rates shall be reduced to that sum."

This joint application was turned down by Government on the ground of "the large reduction of Postage on Newspapers granted in the year 1821."¹

The agitation for reduction in newspaper postage continued through occasional editorials in the columns of the dailies² and finally in November 1829, Government announced "New Rules for Newspaper Postage" which came in force on November 15, 1829. The main provisions were³:

"First. The Postage on Single Newspapers published in Cal-

22. *John Bull* extracted in the *Bengal Harkaru*, March 4, 1825.

23. *Ibid.*, March 7, 1825.

24. *Ibid.*, March 19, 1825.

25. Extracted in the *Bengal Harkaru*, August 29, 1825.

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Ibid.*, February 17, 1826.

3. Notification published in the *Government Gazette*, December 24, 1829.

cutta, and circulated in the interior, is to be limited to two rates, viz. 4 annas and 2 annas.

"Four annas to all Stations now paying that amount or more, and 2 annas to all Stations to which the Postage does not now amount to 4 annas. . . .

"Second. Newspapers not exceeding 3 sicca weight to be considered as Single Newspapers, and to come under the above Rules. . . .

"P.S. From the 15th of June to the 20th of October, one quarter of a sa. wt. to be allowed upon each cover for damp.

"Rules for Native Newspapers.

"To stations falling under the 2 anna scale upto 3 sicca weight: 1 anna

"To stations falling under the 4 anna Scale, double the preceeding Rates

"The same indulgence of one quarter sicca weight to be allowed as on English Papers, from the 15th June to 20th October."

These "New Rules for Newspaper Postage" also provided for an arrangement which was not spelt out in the above Notification. We learn of it from the editorial articles of the contemporary papers commenting on the Rules. Thus we get from the *Bengal Harkaru*⁴ :

"We have much pleasure in informing our readers that our arrangements with the Post Master General . . . are now completed and that from and after the 15th instant there will be only two rates of postage levied on Newspapers . . . Two years have been fixed upon as a fair trial of the plan, and the above concessions have been made on condition that the Proprietors of Newspapers shall be answerable for the non-success of the arrangement. We have accordingly signed a Bond and given security to the above effect, the penalty of which is Rs., 50,000 . . ."

The *John Bull*⁵ also informs us on the same point :

4. *Bengal Harkaru*, November 11, 1829, extracted in the *Bengal Herald*, November 14, 1829, p. 400.

5. *John Bull*, November 13, 1829, extracted in the *Bengal Herald*, November 14, 1829, p. 400.

"On the 15th instant the new Post Office Regulation, as it affects the postage of Newspapers, will be in operation in regard to the *John Bull* and *Bengal Harkaru and Chronicle*. We have not heard whether the twice a week papers have come finally into the arrangement, and given the security demanded . . . It is less than we were led to expect, for it is no sacrifice at all on the part of Government—the Proprietors of Newspapers giving bond that all the loss accruing form the boon . . . shall be made good by the Newspapers to the public treasury . . ."

Commenting on the concessional rate for Postage on newspapers by natives, the *Bengal Herald*, then under management of the natives, wrote⁶ that "a very great saving in newspaper postage will be effected."

Initial jubilations over, the Press gradually became vocal in criticism of the "New Rules for Newspaper Postage" of 1829. It transpired that rates particularly the one for distance beyond 400 miles was yet too high. Further, the arrangement of 1829 did not introduce a single postage for the whole of Company's territories lying in the three Presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay. A newspaper printed anywhere in Bengal Presidency would have to pay for a fresh postage on crossing the borders off Madras and Bombay at the rates prevailing in those Presidencies. Naturally demand was raised for further reform.⁷

The native newspapers of the Presidency also took part in this demand for reduction in the rates for newspaper postage and thus the *Enquirer* of Krishna Mohan Banerjea came forward with the remark⁸ : "The subject of newspaper postage demands immediate attention from government. The heavy rate that is tolerated at present is an illiberal tax upon knowledge. . . Now in a country like India, where the people have not so extensive means of satisfying their literary taste as in England, the government should afford all possible facilities to the circulation of Newspapers. . ."

But instead of conceding to all these demands the Government of Lord William Bentinck took a step which can not be con-

6. *Bengal Herald*, November 14, 1829, p. 397.

7. *India Gazette*, February 2, 1832.

8. *Enquirer* extracted in the *India Gazette*, February 16, 1832.

sidered anything but retrograde. The concession to the native press as granted in 1829 was withdrawn in 1834.⁹

Many of the Englishmen in India disliked this measure and the *Bengal Harkaru* came out with a sharp criticism of the Government¹⁰ : "We adverted sometime ago to the withdrawal of indulgence which had been extended to the native press in respect of postage. . . . Who would have thought that, in Lord William Bentinck's administration, and under the new Charter, the favour of a mitigated postage would be withdrawn from the native press. . . . instead of aiding the benevolent efforts. . . . to force a taste for reading, and create a habit for thinking and writing among the people, the government withdraws even the negative aid and encouragement of a trifling reduction of postage!"

A reduction in newspaper postage was once more granted during the administration of Lord Auckland, in 1837.¹¹ It provided concession both in respect of weight and distance :

	Not exceeding 3½ Tolahs :	Exceeding 3½ Tolahs and not exceeding 6 Tolahs	Exceeding 6 Tolahs not exceeding 9 Tolahs
Not exceeding 20 miles	1 Anna.	2 Annas.	3 Annas.
Not exceeding 400 milles	2 Annas.	4 Annas.	6 Annas.
Above 400 miles	3 Annas.	6 Annas.	9 Annas.

The first rate in the table, i.e. the rate for the distance upto 20 miles was practically of no concern to any one as delivery within this limit and far beyond this, upto Chinsurah, about 35 miles in distance, was affected by the hurkaras or delivery peons who were the paid employees of the proprietors.

Newspaper postage came up for discussion again in 1846. There was a remarkable alteration in the situation since 1837 when the last revision took place, affecting the circulation of the Indian journals. "The stirring events" such as the Afghan War, the con-

9. General Post Office Notification dated August 6, 1834, published in the *Calcutta Gazette*, August 9, 1834.

10. *Bengal Harkaru*, August 26, 1834, extracted in the *Asiatic Journal*, February, 1835, pp. 101-102.

11. Notification, Legislative Department dated July 24, 1837, published in the *Calcutta Gazette*, August 2, 1837.

quest of Scinde, the humiliation of Gwalior and the Sikh campaigns together with the establishment of a rapid and regular periodical communication with Europe and England imparted an additional interest to the newspapers and more than doubled the circulation of the Indian journals.¹²

It was alleged that the daily papers could not participate in this expanding circulation due to the burden of Postage and thus the *Bengal Harkaru* lamentingly wrote¹³ : "How can it be otherwise as respects the daily Press, when we consider that with seven issues a week the *Englishman* or the *Harkaru*, for example, costs every subscriber at a three anna station in postage only Rs. 68.7 ! or four rupees seven annas above the annual subscription, making the total expense of it to him Rs. 132.7 !! that at the two anna stations, the total charge for either paper is Rs. 109.10 per annum including Rs. 45.10 postage !!!¹⁴

Friend of India undertook to calculate the dak circulation of the daily papers of Calcutta in 1837 and 1846 with the help of the Post Office Returns and came out with the startling assertion that during these 9 years "instead of increasing they have fallen off." According to this calculation the total dak circulation of the three daily papers in Calcutta—the *Bengal Harkaru*, the *Englishman* and the *Calcutta Courier*—in 1837 was 892 but the entire dak circulation of the four dailies—the *Bengal Harkaru*, the *Englishman*, the *Calcutta Star* and the *Standard*—on the last week of March., 1846, was only 818.¹⁵

Two alternative suggestions came from the Press itself as a measure of relief. One was for the the reduction of newspaper postage to a uniform one anna rate for transmission all throughout the country irrespective of distance covered by the Post. It was argued that this reduction in rate would so much enhance the circulation of all papers that Government would not suffer from any loss in postal revenue—nay, it would then earn more. The *Calcutta Star*¹⁶ was in favour of this one anna postage while

12. *Friend of India*, April 2, 1846, p. 212.

13. *Bengal Harkaru*, April 4, 1846, extracted in the *Friend of India*, April 9, 1846, p. 230.

14. The subscription for the *Bengal Harkaru* and the *Englishman* was Rs. 64.00 per annum, paid in advance.

15. *Friend of India*, April 16, 1846, p. 241.

16. *Calcutta Star*, April 24, 1846.

the *Bengal Harkaru*¹⁷ advocated the imposition of newspaper stamp. According to this later arrangement every copy of a newspaper issued from the press whether for circulation in town (by delivery peons employed by the proprietors) or country (through the Post Office) would uniformly bear this imposition of one anna stamp.¹⁸ In a lengthy editorial in June 1847 the *Friend of India* elaborately dwelt upon the pros and cons of these propositions.¹⁹

The native newspapers were generally opposed to the stamp. And in an editorial over the question the *Sangbad Purnochandrodaya*, the native Daily, wrote on the issue opposing the stamp on two grounds²⁰—first, compulsory imposition of an anna on the town subscribers who used to get their paper through messengers of the proprietors would be unjustifiable; secondly, the annual advance payment on this account would be too heavy a burden on the proprietors' financial resources.

The newspaper discussion over the topic got an impetus from the known sentiments of the then Governor General, Sir Henry Hardinge., in favour of reduction of newspaper postage.²¹ High hopes were expressed in the columns of the newspapers that some concessions were imminent.²²

Nothing, however, came out and editorial discussions urging reduction in newspaper postage continued. In April 1850, Lord Dalhousie appointed three commissioners—W. Courtney, H. Forbes and Cecil Beadon—for Post Office Enquiry "to enquire into and report upon the system of Postal Communication as it exists in the several Presidencies... especially... to consider the several schemes which have been proposed, either for the introduction of a uniform low rate of postage such as has for sometime been established in England, or for the formation of some other system which shall approximate to the English system as

17. *Bengal Harkaru*, April 4, 1846, extracted in the *Friend of India*, April 9, 1846, p. 230.

18. *Friend of India*, April 2, 1846, p. 212.

19. *Ibid.*, June 17, 1847, p. 370.

20. *Sangbad Purnochandrodaya*, September 28, 1850.

21. *Friend of India*, April 23, 1846, pp. 259-260.

22. *Englishman*, November 24, 1846, extracted in the *Friend of India*, November 26, 1846, p. 755.

closely as the different condition and circumstances of the two countries allow.”²³

In their report the Post Office Commissioners did not recommend any reduction in postage for the Indian papers.²⁴ Naturally this report has a very bitter reception in the Indian Press.²⁵

The agitation for one anna postage for newspapers continued. Then, in 1854, Government made a concession through Act No. XVII of the year : “An Act for the management of the Post Office, for the regulation of the duties of Postage, and for the punishment of offences against the Post Office.”¹ It provided for, irrespective of distance, the following rate of postage from the first of October, 1854 :

1. “On every imported newspaper, pamphlet, or other printed or engraved paper—

If the same shall not exceed six tolahs in weight, two annas.

If the same shall exceed six but shall not exceed twelve tolahs in weight, four annas.”

2. “On every newspapers, pamphlet, or other printed or engraved paper not imported—

If the same shall not exceed three and a half tollahs in weight, two annas.

If the same shall exceed three and a half tollahs, and not exceed six tollahs in weight, four annas.”

These concessions made no impression on the Indian press. The newspaper postage @ 2 annas was yet a too heavy burden with them. They had also their complaint against the discrepancy in providing admissible weight at three and half tolahs for an Indian paper but six tolahs for an imported one. “Here the Government has committed manifest injustice. A country newspaper weighing 3½ tolahs will be subjected to the same amonut of postage as one imported from England or Europe weighing 6 tolahs ! The *Harkaru* insinuates that our rulers are afraid of the

23. Report of the Commissioners for Post Office Enquiry : Calcutta, 1851 : para 2.

24. Ibid., para 116.

25. *Friend of India*, December 4, 1851.

1. Published in the *Calcutta Gazette*, August 26, 1854, pp. 926-927.

'Home press'. Some such feeling, we fear, is at the bottom of this most invidious distinction"—wrote the *Hindu Intelligencer*.²

The Act XVII of 1854 was the prelude to the concession for one Anna Postage which was not long in coming. This came through a Notification dated October 16, 1854^{2a} :

1. "From and after the 1st November next, the Postage on every imported Newspaper, Pamphlet or other printed or engraved paper shall be one Anna, if the same shall not exceed six tolahs in weight, two Annas if the same shall exceed six but shall not exceed twelve tolahs in weight. . . ."

2. "The Postage on every Newspaper, Pamphlet or other printed or engraved Paper not imported shall be one Anna, if the same shall not exceed three and a half tolahs in weight ; two Annas, if the same shall exceed three and a half tolahs and not exceed six tolahs. . . .".

This was acclaimed with the highest applause in the native press and the *Hindu Intelligencer*,³ in an editorial review of the matter, wrote : "We do not know whom to thank for the concession of this inestimable boon ; but whoever he is, our best and grateful acknowledgement are due to him."

The English Press under the European management, however, accepted the order in a more guarded manner because the weight restrictions on Indian papers still remained at 3½ and 6 tolahs, whereas that on imported papers was fixed at 6 and 12 tolahs.⁴

The final concession from Government for newspaper postage was however soon to follow. It was announced in May 1855⁵ that "on every newspaper, pamphlet, or other printed or engraved paper, not imported and not exceeding four tolahs in weight, the postage shall be one anna."

Commenting on this the *Friend of India* wrote a lengthy editorial. We quote from it as it contains interesting revelations

2. *Hindu Intelligencer*, August 21, 1854.

2a. Published in the *Calcutta Gazette*, October 18, 1854, p. 1199.

3. *Hindu Intelligencer*, October 23, 1854.

4. *Friend of India*, October 26, 1854, p. 675.

5. Home Department Notification No. 698 dated May 25, 1855, published in the *Calcutta Gazette*, June 2, 1855.

regarding newspaper postage⁶: "We are happy to record an instance of the generous consideration of Government... Before ...1837, an extra allowance was made of a quarter of a tolah weight during the four months of the rains. This indulgence was abolished in that year, in consequence of which many papers which it was impossible sufficiently to dry during the rains, were charged double at the time of their despatch, and were found to be within the single weight when they reached their destination. The matter was recently represented to the Director General, and a renewal of the former rule was solicited, when lo and behold, the President in Council has been pleased to grant us four tolahs in weight all the year through... To the Proprietors and Editors of Newspapers, it will afford the gratification of being able to increase the amount of the intelligence given to their readers, which has heretofore been limited, and often to a very distressing extent, by the restriction of weight..."

A long chapter in the history of the English Press in Bengal thus came to a satisfactory close.

(B) Press Advertisements

During the period of our study, when the newspapers and periodicals had a limited circulation the advertisements provided substantial means of support to the proprietors. Such was the eagerness of the proprietors to court the favour of the advertisers that they would adjust the get up of their papers to suit the advertisers most. Thus, to cite an instance, in 1787 the *Calcutta Gazette* was given the size of a "Large Folio" in place of its original shorter size which was "unfavourable for advertisements."⁷

It may also be mentioned in this background that many of the earliest papers had an alternative or additional title indicative of the eagerness to court favour of the advertisers. Thus, for example, the full title of the *Bengal Gazette* (of Hicky) was the "*Bengal Gazette or Calcutta General Advertiser*", of the *India Gazette*, the "*India Gazette or Calcutta Public Advertiser*", of

6. *Friend of India*, June 7, 1855, p. 357.

7. *Calcutta Gazette*, February 1, 1787.

the *Calcutta Gazette*, the "*Calcutta Gazette or Oriental Advertiser*."

This state of affairs—limited circulation of papers and periodicals and for that the proprietors banking heavily for financial support on the advertisements—continued all throughout the period of our study and in an editorial article in 1846 the *Calcutta Star* wrote,⁸ "as matters at present stand, no daily paper in India could possibly pay its own expenses even, much less make a profit, unless it were for its advertisements."

We have no information as to the income of any of the proprietors from this source in the earliest days. Our first specific information on this point relates to the *Calcutta Journal* of James Silk Buckingham. In June 1822, the total receipt for this paper amounted to Rs. 14,538/- out of which Rs. 3,419/- or roughly one-fourth, came from advertisements.⁹

In 1833 the *Bengal Harkaru* had a daily circulation of 726 copies.¹⁰ Out of this, we presume, 26 copies were distributed gratis or exchanged and 700 copies were paid for. The annual subscription of the *Bengal Harkaru* was then, if paid in advance, Rs. 64/-,¹¹ and thus the total minimum annual subscription would be Rs. 44,800/-. During the same period the annual total income from advertisement charge for it amounted to Rs. 18,000/-.¹²

Proprietors of papers and periodicals could hardly derive any income out of Government advertisements. For, the proprietor of the *Calcutta Gazette*, on its establishment published these advertisements free of charge as would be evident from a notice in the *Calcutta Gazette*¹³—"the Honorable the Governor General in

8. *Calcutta Star*, April 4, 1846.

9. *Calcutta Journal*, August 24, 1822, p. 763.

10. *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine and Review*, No. III, October 1833, p. 409.

11. Different rates of subscription for the *Bengal Harkaru* at this time, according to notice in the *Bengal Harkaru* dated July 3, 1833, were : Rs. 8/- per mensem, Rs. 20/- per quarter, Rs. 64/- per annum.

12. *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine and Review*, No. III, October 1833, p. 410.

13. *Calcutta Gazette*, March 10, 1785.

Council have been pleased to exempt the *Gazette* printed by Mr. Francis Gladwin from the charges of postage, he having engaged to publish therein all advertisements, and orders of this Government gratis."

This concession for free postage was withdrawn after October 31, 1787.¹⁴ But the *Calcutta Gazette* would still publish the government advertisements and Notifications. These would make it an object of attraction from the view point of utility. This very fact used to attract a huge quantum of advertisements from private parties and Commercial Houses. This continued till June 1815 when Government set up its own Gazette—the *Government Gazette*, which would henceforth publish all "Advertisements and other Papers connected with the Public Service."¹⁵ Since then, devoid of government advertisements and Notifications, the *Calcutta Gazette* could not attract sufficient private advertisements and could only carry on a precarious existence till the end of September 1818. Then it passed off into the hands of James Silk Buckingham who purchased its copy right.¹⁶

Like subscription, payment for advertisements also fell in arrear and we get it in the *Bengal Harkaru*¹⁷ : "On the part of the Press the *India Gazette*, the *John Bull*, the *Columbian Press Gazette* and ourselves have fully resolved on...supplying the paper...to those only who pay their subscription in advance. But there is another very important department of printing business in which the Proprietors have a still deeper interest in bringing about the change contemplated ; we allude to the insertion of Advertisements... We trust therefore that Proprietors of all the papers named will unite with us in adopting a similar rule (that the charge for Advertisements are paid in advance)..."

According to the *Bengal Harkaru* it was only the proprietors of the late *Calcutta Journal* who did not have to suffer for this because alike in respect of subscription for his paper Buckingham had a contract with a Native who farmed his bills at a certain dis-

14. General Post Office Notification dated October 4, 1787 published in the *Calcutta Gazette*, October 11, 1787.

15. Public Department Notice dated May 2, 1815, published in the *Government Gazette* dated June 22, 1815.

16. *Calcutta Journal*, December 15, 1818, pp. 480-81.

17. *Bengal Harkaru*, December 15, 1825.

count for which he took the whole risk.¹⁸ But according to the *Bengal Harkaru* "such is the difficulty of collection here, that we hear, the man has been ruined by it and certainly no Native or European would undertake it."¹⁹

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Wieght restrictions under the rules for Newspaper Postage was a serious handicap for the proprietors in allotting unlimited space for advertisements. To meet the handicap James Silk Buckingham used to print copies of the *Calcutta Journal* for the Mofussil subscribers on China paper (both lighter and cheaper than English paper) so that the advertisement sheets (also printed on China paper) could be enclosed with these within the limit of the restricted weight.²⁰ But the country subscribers disliked this Mofussil edition on China paper.²¹ So Buckingham made different arrangements for the Town and Country subscribers. He would publish separate sheets with advertisements titled as the "New Daily Register and General Advertiser" for the Town Subscribers. He thus gave out details of the new arrangement²²—"As the New Daily Register and General Advertiser now issued from our Press, will include at the lowest rate, all Advertisements intended for Town Circulation only²³...the pages of the regular paper will be reserved for such only as are intended for Country Circulation, and these will be printed after the English method, in small types and running lines, so as to compress the greatest quantity of information into the smallest possible space..."

In the same way the *Bengal Harkaru* also had a Daily Advertiser containing advertisements for Town circulation—"1000 copies gratuitously distributed throughout Calcutta and its suburbs"²⁴ (besides being transmitted to the Town subscribers with

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid.

20. *Calcutta Journal*, January 5, 1821, p. 52.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid., July 4, 1821, Advertisement sheet.

23. In the period of our study papers to the Town subscribers upto Chandernagore and Chinsurah were distributed by the hurcarahs or delivery peons employed by the proprietors and hence there was no restriction on weight in respect of copies thus distributed.

the regular paper). *The Scotmen in the East* published advertisements separately from the regular paper—on the fourth or the Advertisement Sheet which could be gratuitously circulated in Calcutta and its environs²⁵ (besides being transmitted to the Town subscribers).

The *Bengal Chronicle* made an interesting experiment for an English paper (under European management) to carry on without the income from advertisement¹: "Our readers can not fail to have observed that we have for some months past almost entirely relinquished the space formerly occupied with Advertisement and have frequently issued extra sheets... The loss of profit on Advertisements which we decline inserting, the expense of extra sheets... all warrant our appealing to our subscribers... We trust that our subscribers will not object to the monthly charge for subscription being increased from three to four Rupees per month from 1st January next."

The experiment did not possibly succeed and we again get the *Bengal Chronicle* to announce rate of charges for advertisement in its columns in October 1829.²

In the earliest days of our period the rates for advertisement charge was seldom notified for general information. *Hicky's Bengal Gazette* was full of advertisements but the advertisement charges were never published in its columns. Such was also the case with the *Calcutta Gazette*. The charges, it appears, were settled up privately by negotiation between the printer and the parties seeking publication of advertisements. There were rare exceptions to this general practice and one such exceptional case was the *Calcutta Evening Post* which in 1792 gave out the charge for advertisement in its columns at six annas per line allowing a discount to "constant customers."³

In the later years we first get regular notices of advertisement charges in the *Calcutta Journal*, the *John Bull* and then also in

24. Advertisement in the *Bengal Harkaru*, July 20, 1824.

25. "The Scotman in the East: Notice"—advertisement in the *John Bull*, February 23, 1824.

1. *Bengal Chronicle*, October 2, 1827.

2. *Ibid.*, October 6, 1829.

3. Advertisement in the *Calcutta Chronicle*, April 24, 1792.

the *Bengal Harkaru* and the *India Gazette*. Henceforth notice for advertisement charges became a regular practice for all. But concessional or underselling rates were allowed on private negotiation. Possibly for this we get in the *Calcutta Journal*, in the notice for advertisement charges, the caution that "No deviation will be made for these established rates."⁴ We also get open allegations on this point⁵: "We know...that the *Bull* inserts contract advertisements (at) two-thirds less than the usual rate per month established in Calcutta among Newspaper Proprietors; we see that he fills up his paper with them, when it ought in justice to his general readers, be allotted to other and more entertaining matter."

A problem for the proprietors of newspapers and periodicals at this time was the constant demand on them for gratuitous insertion of notices of domestic occurrences, advertisements from the religious or philanthropic organisations and result of Lottery drawings by the Lottery Committee (then a public organisation). This demand had its origin in the practice of the proprietors themselves to allow and even to encourage such insertions in the earlier years, to earn popularity for their paper. Thus, for example, we get it in the *Calcutta Journal*: "Advertisements of a public nature in which neither the profit of individuals nor of corporate bodies are concerned, will be considered as articles of public intelligence, and if transmitted to the office for the purpose will be inserted...free of charge."⁶

With passage of time demand for gratuitous insertion of advertisements became a heavy burden on the proprietors. And ultimately, to secure their own interests the proprietors in a joint meeting took a decision—(a) not to offer under-selling rate for advertisements, (b) not to publish gratuitous advertisements, and (c) not to insert result of Lottery Drawings. We get the following notice of this in the *India Gazette* in 1837⁷:

"At a meeting of the Proprietors and Managers of the Daily Press of Calcutta held at the Harkaru office, on the 14th May 1833.

4. *Calcutta Journal*, July 4, 1821, Advertisement Sheet.

5. *Bengal Harkaru*, August 19, 1826.

6. *Calcutta Journal*, October 5, 1829; Advertisement Sheet.

7. *India Gazette*, August 22, 1833.

"Present : the Representatives of the *Bengal Harkaru, India Gazette, John Bull* and *Calcutta Courier* newspaper. . .

"It was resolved that from 1st July all advertisements, of whatever kind, without any exception shall be subject to charge at the usual rates.

"In order that the public may be aware of the number and nature of the notices that have been hitherto inserted gratuitously, and for which the usual charge will henceforth be made, the following classification is subjoined :

"1. All notices of public meetings, of lectures and Sermons, Collections and Sales, whether on behalf of philanthropic Societies or of any other character.

"2. The authenticated resolutions of public meetings.

N.B. The proceedings of public meetings and of learned and benevolent Societies will continue to be reported as articles of news.

"3. All complimentary communications between Commanders of vessels and passengers, and all notices respecting the departure of ships not included in the ordinary advertisements.

"4. Concerts, and all public amusements, entertainments, and subscriptions of whatever nature.

N.B. Theatrical advertisements for several years past been paid for by an arrangement with the Managers of the Chowringhee Theatre, which continue in force.

"5. Schemes and Drawings of the Calcutta Government and other Public or Private Lotteries.

"6. Marriages, Births and Deaths.

N.B. These notices will be subject to a specific charge of one rupee for the simple announcement of the fact, and if extended beyond that, the usual rate per line will be charged.

"Rates of Advertising in the *India Gazette* (and also other papers settled in the meeting) :

	Rs.	As.	P.
"First three insertions per line	0	4	0
Repetitions above 3 times per line	0	3	0
-Do- above 6 -Do-	0	2	0
Column, 1st insertion	25	0	0
-Do- 2nd -Do-	16	0	0
-Do- 3rd and oftner per line	10	0	0."

A section of the reading public disliked this decision of the newspaper proprietors and many letters to the editor appeared in the contemporary papers protesting against this. In reply to these editorials came out supporting the joint decision of the proprietors. Finally, possibly due to the hostile sentiment of the reading public, the proprietors of newspapers introduced modification in their joint decision. Thus the *India Gazette* announced in September 1833⁸: "on the subject of the publication of Domestic Occurrences we may now state the course we mean to pursue . . . The importance which the readers of newspapers attach to them, has induced us to come to the determination of publishing them without any charge whatever, conceiving ourselves bound in such a matter to consult the wishes of those from whom we receive support."

The *Calcutta Courier* also came out with an editorial on identical line.⁹

Without any public announcement to this effect the *Bengal Harkaru* and the *John Bull* (transformed into the *Englishman*) also appear to have followed suit.

The question of gratuitous insertion and underselling rates for advertisements again came up for discussion in the columns of newspapers in the forties. Thus we get it in the *Bengal Harkaru*¹⁰: "... we should cease to be called on to advertise gratuitously for any purpose whatever, seeing that every advertisement not paid for, is so much money taken out of our pockets, even exclusive of the wages of compositors etc., which were always a fair argument against the practice. . . . It is not merely, however, to charitable advertisements, that the local press is called on to give gratuitous insertion. We have all been inserting for some years past the Post Office Notifications as to the Steamers etc. for nothing, and we have now one before us of 'Tenders for Conveyance of Mails between Hooghly and Benares' occupying nearly three pages of manuscript, or nearly half a column, in type, which we are modestly expected to give space free of charge. We think this is rather too bad, and have decided for our own part, not to publish, in future, an advertisement of any kind that is not paid for."

8. *India Gazette*, September 28, 1833.

9. *Calcutta Courier*, September 28, 1833.

10. *Bengal Harkaru*, extracted in the *Calcutta Star*, March 31, 1846.

Immediately other papers came out with editorials supporting the *Bengal Harkaru*.¹¹

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Gradually the conception of limiting the space under advertisements to a fixed proportion of the total space in the paper was gaining ground. We get a reflection of this conception in the announcement of the *Friend of India*¹² that the "utmost limit we can afford for advertisements is three pages out of sixteen."

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The native English papers were, however, not much concerned in all these disputes and discussions. For, these papers were not yet vitally dependent on income from advertisements. The *Bengal Herald* (here we are concerned with it as long as it was under the native management and proprietorship) had its rates for advertisement announced in the issue dated May 30, 1829, and from that date also came out the advertisement sheet—the *Bengal Herald Advertiser*—forming the last part of an issue. But the *Reformer*, the *Enquirer* and the *Bengal Spectator* did not announce any advertisement rates nor did these insert any advertisement. Some of the papers subsequent to these had their respective advertisement rates and also derived an income from this source. Such were the *Oriental Magazine*, the *Literary Chronicle*, the *Oriental Observer*, the *Four Anna Magazine*, the *Hindu Intelligencer*, and the *Hindoo Patriot*. Regarding many others we are not certain because of there being no copy extant or accessible.

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The Missionary periodicals—not all, but at least some—were also contender for advertisers' indulgence. The *Calcutta Christian Advocate* in a long article dwelt on this topic and bewailed that advertisements which were a "great source of profit" had never yet "flowed to the religious periodicals of this country."¹³ It also opened up its pages for advertisements "such as are not opposed to our views on religions and morals."¹⁴

11. *Calcutta Star*, April 4, 1846.

12. *Friend of India*, October 1, 1846, p. 625.

13. *Calcutta Christian Advocate*, November 6, 1841, p. 220.

14. *Ibid.*, September, 1845, p. 446.

Of the Missionary periodicals which accepted advertisements, the *Calcutta Christian Intelligencer*, the *Calcutta Christian Observer* and the *Oriental Baptist* used to keep their columns confined to the advertisements of the nature as indicated above by the *Calcutta Christian Advocate*. But the range of admission for the *Calcutta Christian Advocate* itself was quite extensive and we get in its pages advertisements for Soda Water and Lemonade,¹⁵ Coach Builders and Repairers,¹⁶ Shoe and Harness Makers¹⁷ and so on.

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During our period papers were also set up solely or mainly with the object of publishing advertisements. Such papers were the *Calcutta Exchange Gazette and Daily Advertiser* (1818), the *Calcutta Gazette and Commercial Advertiser* (1828), the *Commercial and Shipping Gazette* (1850), and the *Calcutta Exchange Gazette* (1818). We may furnish an extract from the *Friend of India* as to the nature of contents of the most reputed of these—a daily, the *Calcutta Exchange Gazette*. The *Friend of India*¹⁸ wrote: "... The *Calcutta Exchange Gazette*. . . To those who understand the Asiatic Metropolis, it is the most suggestive of journals. . . all Calcutta is daguerreotyped in those blurred columns. The trade of a great and flourishing capital is well expressed in column after column of shipping advertisements, recording the departure of vessels for every port in the world. . . Columns of 'notifications' for the Administrator General tell of the fleeting character of Indian society, and of the large proportion of men who die alone and almost friendless. . . But the main feature of the Calcutta advertising sheets is, without question, luxury. Officialities, deaths, estates, and even commerce do not fill half the space occupied by articles of luxury. Everything pleasant to the eye, the taste, and the fancy finds there a place, and Sydney Smith's celebrated list of taxable articles would scarcely include all which are in demand in Calcutta. In the number now before us, there are thirteen separate notices of liquor, from 'Mumm's celebrated champagne, sparkling and still' patronized

15. Ibid., April 12, 1845, p. 163.

16. Ibid., February 2, 1850, p. 49.

17. Ibid., December 1, 1849, p. 561.

18. *Friend of India*, December 2, 1852, pp. 772-73.

by members of Council, and the 'celebrated Crown Sherry' which has been 'celebrated' ever since the *Gazette* started, to the humbler 'superior wines' which 'merit attention', but which does not perhaps equally merit drinking. Hamilton and Co. are again on the stage with—'Cashmere shawls', 'Emerald, pearl, and ruby jewellery' all selected by a 'gentleman in the Punjab' and likely to find an easier sale than the Darya-i-Noor, the price of which ought to purchase a German Principality. Another half dozen sections are filled with the milliner's advertisements, over which ladies linger far longer than their husbands feel to be safe, and the absence of which at Madras¹⁹ is said to be one reason why military officers of that Presidency become full Colonels before they are sixty...."

(C) *Problem of arrear subscription :*

The problem of arrear subscription hung like an incubus on the proprietors of the papers and periodicals of this period. This was so almost since the time of appearance of newspaper in India. In 1792, we get the proprietor of the *Calcutta Chronicle* to bewail thus²⁰ : "The Proprietors of the *Calcutta Chronicle*, in consequence of the large amount of the Bills now due to them, (many of them, of several years standing) request those gentlemen indebted to the office, will have the goodness to direct the payment of their Bills... The aggregate amount of the Bills now outstanding, is near 60,000 Rupees..."

This huge arrear could grow up only in a period of six years. For, the *Calcutta Chronicle* came into appearance in January 1786. And possibly under the pressure of this load of arrear subscription the proprietors disposed of the paper to new hands in the first week of November 1793.²¹

With the passage of time the dimension of this problem grew up and in the twenties of the next century we get all the leading Calcutta papers taking precautionary actions against this evil.

19. There was no paper in Madras Presidency exclusively for advertisements as in Calcutta. So, the Madras tradesmen tried to set up one and that occasioned this editorial in the *Friend of India*.
20. *Calcutta Chronicle*, November 27 to December 25, 1792.
21. *Ibid.*, November 4, 1793.

In January 1824, the *John Bull* published the notice²²: "The Proprietors of the *John Bull* are under the indispensable necessity, owing to an immense accumulation of debts to the Concern, of requesting an early adjustment of all long standing dues, and they respectfully solicit all parties so indebted to pay the amount of their respective Bill, which will be presented to them in course of the present month..." In this notice the proprietors also expressed their resolution to cease to supply their paper to the defaulting subscribers after waiting for payment for a reasonable time.

It may be mentioned that this "immense accumulation of debt to the Concern" could get up only within a period of about two and half years (as the *John Bull* came into publication only in July, 1821).

The situation did not improve. In fact it further worsened. According to the *Columbian Press Gazette* one "Printing Establishment of this place had actually at one time, nearly a lakh of rupees outstanding in this way; many of the Bills for two and three years' subscription."²³ In the *Bengal Harkaru* Establishment the things were no better—"the bills for subscription etc. average Sicca Rupees 14,000 and its expense Sicca Rupees 10,000 which the amount of collection barely covers—the Profit the Proprietors have reaped in four years lies all in uncollected Bills!"²⁴

The move to solve the riddle came from the *John Bull*. In August 1825, it came out with this notice²⁵: "An evil of the most serious nature to all Proprietors of Newspapers in Calcutta has arisen out of the practice of not, as in England, exacting payment in advance from their Subscribers... By a departure from it serious loss falls upon the Newspapers, and often much trouble and inconvenience on Subscribers, when bills are allowed to accumulate to a huge amount. It is, therefore, proposed to adopt the English plan; but in order to give time to our friends and Subs-

22. *John Bull*, January 15, 1824.

23. *Columbian Press Gazette* extracted in the *Bengal Harkaru*, September 3, 1825.

24. *Bengal Harkaru*, September 10, 1825.

25. *John Bull* extracted in the *Bengal Harkaru*, August 31, 1825.

cribers... it is not intended to commence... before January next. With new subscribers its operation will be immediate... ."

The *Bengal Harkaru* re-published the above notice in its column and through a lengthy editorial article¹ expressed entire concurrence with the *John Bull*—"we fully concur in every line of it, and the Proprietors intend entirely adopting it."

Proprietors of other newspapers and periodicals avidly took up this "English Plan" of the *John Bull*.²

According to contemporary evidence it was only the *Calcutta Journal* which did not suffer from any loss on this account—"the late *Calcutta Journal* was so because the proprietor made a contract with a Native who farmed his bills at a certain discount for which he took the whole risk."³

To ensure punctuality of payment the *John Bull* declared a rebate of 16 per cent on one year's payment in advance.⁴ Thus in place of Rs. 96.00 for the whole year @ Rs. 8/- per mensem any one could meet up his liability at Rs. 80 Annas 10 only through advance payment.⁵ Proprietors of other papers followed suit e.g. the proprietors of the *Bengal Harkaru* Establishment offered the following concessional rate⁶ :

- (a) The *Bengal Harkaru*—monthly rate Rs. 8/- ; annual rate Rs. 80/- in advance.
- (b) The *Calcutta Literary Gazette* (weekly paper)—monthly rate Rs. 2/- ; annual rate Rs. 20/- in advance.

Subsequently the rates were further reduced for advance payment⁷ :

- (a) The *Bengal Harkaru and Chronicle*—monthly rate Rs. 8/- ; Quarterly Rs. 20/- and annual Rs. 64/-, in advance.
- (b) The *Calcutta Literary Gazette* (weekly paper)—monthly

1. *Bengal Harkaru*, August 31, 1825.

2. (a) *Columbian Press Gazette* extracted in the *Bengal Harkaru*, September 3, 1825 ; (b) *India Gazette* extracted in the *John Bull*, January 3, 1826.

3. *Bengal Harkaru*, December 15, 1825.

4. *John Bull* extracted in the *Bengal Harkaru*, August 31, 1825.

5. *Ibid.*, January 1, 1828.

6. *Bengal Harkaru*, January 2, 1826.

7. *Ibid.*, May 7, 1829.

rate Rs. 2/- ; quarterly Rs. 5/- and annual Rs. 16/-, in advance.

- (c) The *Bengal Chronicle* (ter-weekly paper)—monthly rate Rs. 4/- ; quarterly Rs. 10/- and annual Rs. 32/-, in advance.

It so appears that the newspaper proprietors could not always strictly enforce their resolution for stoppage of supply except on advance payment. For, we get it in respect of the *John Bull* that in 1833 when J.H. Stockqueler purchased it the subscription list contained about 250 names of which at least half was hopelessly in arrear.⁸

The new proprietor of the *John Bull* which was retitled as the *Englishman* since October 1, 1833, took early precaution against the evil and offered concessional rate on advance payment for all the papers and periodicals out of his Establishment⁹ :

- (a) The *Englishman*—monthly rate Rs. 8/- ; quarterly and annual in advance Rs. 20/- and Rs. 64/-.
- (b) The *Oriental Observer* (weekly paper)—monthly rate Rs. 2/- ; quarterly and annual in advance Rs. 5/- and Rs. 17/-.
- (c) The *Bengal Sporting Magazine* (monthly paper)—monthly rate Rs. 2/- ; and annual in advance Rs. 20/-.
- (d) The *East India United Service Journal*—monthly rate Rs. 2/- ; half-yearly and annual in advance Rs. 10/- and Rs. 17/-.

It was at the same time notified¹⁰ that every "subscriber who is two quarters in arrear, shall receive a formal notice soliciting payment which if not attended to before the expiration of the ensuing quarter will be considered sufficient authority for the discontinuation of subscription."

In any case, the problem of arrear subscription could not be effectively solved and continued to baffle the proprietors all throughout our period though it might have become comparative-

8. J. H. Stocqueler, op. cit., p. 93.

9. *East India United Service Journal*, January, 1837, advertisement sheet.

10. Ibid.

ly smaller in dimension with the passage of time. To illustrate this we may cite following two cases.

The first case is in respect of the *East India United Service Journal*. In the last issue of that journal we get this notice¹¹ : "In the Post Script of the present volume, it will be seen that we have come to the resolution of discontinuing the publication of the *Journal*. . . The subscription list of the *Journal*, still furnishes names enough to remunerate our labours (if all the owners of those names, would but remember to remit). . . Some three or four thousand rupees are still due to us."

The second case relates to the *Citizen*. Issues of that daily paper in December 1855 contained this notice for its subscribers¹² : "Such of our old subscribers as do not pay their bills on presentation or allow their bills to fall into arrear of a month will be charged from the 1st December at four rupees a month.¹³ We are obliged to take this step as we regret to find several of our constituents fancy we have no expenses to disburse and withhold payment of their small accounts much to our annoyance."

It so apperas that the habit of defaulting to remit subscription for papers and periodicals was common to all, irrespective of the social position and the standard of culture of the subscribers. The *India Review* And *The Journal of Foreign Science And The Arts* could mostly be subscribed for by the learned and the elites of the European Society in India because of the nature of its contents. But even the proprietor of it had to suffer for arrear as would be evident from the notice¹⁴ : "We have again to call the attention of our Subscribers to the subject mooted in our last—namely the arrears of subscription and earnestly request that we may be favoured with remittances as early as circumstances will admit."

The situation did not improve and finally the proprietor decided to give up the *India Review*.¹⁵

The learned subscribers of the celebrated *Calcutta Review*

11. *East Indian United Service Journal*, January 1837, advertisement sheet.
12. *Citizen*, December 1, 1855, and consecutive issues for December.
13. Concessional rate was Rs. 42/- per annum.
14. *India Review*, July 1843, back-cover.
15. *Ibid.*, September 1843, unnumbered page.

were no better in remitting their subscription. And this is evident from the "Notice" appearing with the issue of September 1856¹⁶ : "The Proprietor must request such of his... subscribers as have not paid to favour him with a remittance... Some forty per cent of the Subscriptions due have not been received."

The Missionary periodicals also did not enjoy immunity from this problem of arrear subscription. The *Asiatic Observer* (quarterly periodical managed jointly by the Missionaries of the London Missionary Society in Bengal and the Calcutta Baptist Missionaries during 1823-24) was given up almost under the burden of the arrear subscription¹⁷ : "In presenting the 8th number of the *Asiatic Observer* to the public, its managers close their labours... it does not arise from a want of the material for such a work, but from the difficulty... in realising the small amount of subscriptions... the work has already involved the Proprietors in considerable expense..."

The *Calcutta Christian Observer* (monthly periodical projected by the Calcutta Missionary Conference), one of the most widely circulated Missionary periodicals in India, became burdened with a bad debt of about Rs. 3,000/- on account of arrear subscription.¹⁸ Accumulation of arrear in subscription and difficulties in realisation of the same was also a problem with the native proprietors.

Thus we get the proprietor of the *Reformer* to offer a concessional rate for advance payment¹⁹ : "Price 2 Rupees per month, 5 Rupees per Quarter or 20 Rupees per Year ; payable in Advance."

The *Oriental Observer*, the native monthly periodical during 1846-47 with a monthly subscription of four annas per mensem, had to come out with this notice only after four months of existence (September 1846 to January 1847)²⁰ : "We beg leave to wait here on our Readers with these few following lines... We shall only request our subscribers to be little punctual in their payment..."

16. "Notice" with the *Calcutta Review*, September 1856, unnumbered page.
17. *Asiatic Observer*, October 1824, unnumbered page.
18. *Calcutta Christian Advocate*, November 6, 1841, p. 220.
19. *Reformer*, March 10, 1833.
20. *Oriental Observer*, January 1847.

The rate of subscription for most of the native periodicals was already too small to allow any further concession on advance payment. Hence to meet this problem some would insist on advance payment as condition precedent for enrolment as subscribers. Thus the proprietor of the *Literary Chronicle* laid down the terms—"eight annas a month paid two months in advance,"²¹ for Calcutta subscribers and "one year's subscription in advance"²², for Mofussil subscribers.

For an idea of the dimension of this problem in respect of the native papers (both English and vernacular) we may quote from the *Calcutta Christian Advocate*²³ the exordium of the editor of the *Sambad Provakar* (vernacular Daily) to his defaulters :

"The *Provakar* complains that although he wrote separate letters to all his subscribers before the Durga Puja, requesting them to pay arrears, they have neither sent him any money nor had the civility to reply to his letters. He thinks they can not be aware of the great expense and trouble connected with a daily paper or they never would treat him in such a manner. They seem to imagine that as water is to be had by going to the river, as air freely circulated in the open sky, as light naturally issues from the orb of day, so it is the nature of an Editor to produce newspaper. Such conduct is altogether past endurance ; he will bear it no longer. . . . He will wait another week, and then cease to give the paper gratis to those who can afford to pay for it."

21. *Literary Chronicle*, December 1849, 3rd cover.

22. *Ibid.*, April 1850.

23. *Calcutta Christian Advocate*, November 15, 1855. pp. 541-42.

APPENDIX I

List of Papers and Periodicals published during 1780-1857 in respect of which sufficient particulars are wanting for a fuller account.

AVAILABLE PARTICULARS :

I. *The Telegraph* (1796) :

"In 1796, the editor of the *Telegraph*, a Calcutta paper, incurred the displeasure of Government, by inserting in his journal an article... In 1798... a letter appeared in the *Telegraph*... tending to excite a discontent and disaffection in the Indian Army... In 1799 the editor of the *Telegraph* was called upon by Government publicly to apologise for some very indecent reflections... on the Clerk of the Post Office!"

In the list of periodical publications in 1813 in the *Calcutta Annual Register and Directory* we get the *Telegraph* as a weekly paper published on Tuesday by L. D'Mello at the printing office at Tank Square.²

Dr. Tytler might be its editor for sometime.³

II. *The Sunday Guardian* (1819) :

James Silk Buckingham, proprietor-editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, purchased the copy rights of the *Sunday Guardian*, for which 10,000 rupees were given, and which was added to that of the

1. Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1834, Vol. 8, Paper 601, Appendix, pp. 111-112.
2. *Calcutta Annual Register and Directory* for 1813, India Gazette Press, p. 58.
3. *Calcutta Courier*, March 14, 1840: "A biographical notice of those English newspapers which have been and of those which are before the Calcutta public".

Calcutta Journal; that was in 1821.⁴ Prior to this purchase the *Sunday Guardian* was in publication for about fifty weeks.⁵

III. *The Breakfast Hours* (1819) :

It went off publication "a few weeks after its birth, though it set out with a profession of entertaining the Town for a long period to come⁶."

IV. *The Oriental Mercury* (1823) :

"Every evening an English newspaper, *Oriental Mercury* is being published. So far 18 issues are out⁷."

V. *The Trifler* (1823) :

"The *Trifler* No. 1. This publication is intended to be continued monthly.⁸

VI. *The Weekly Gleaner* (1823) :

"Prospectus of a new paper to be entitled *The Weekly Gleaner*... (It) will consist of Topics the most useful, interesting and entertaining, select from the several Journals issued at the Presidency. It is proposed to be published every Sunday morning and will be printed in a quarto size good paper... The price... Three Rupees per mensem."⁹

"The *Gleaner* is as yet a very young Chronicle. However it often contains some very good letters and the editorial tone has nothing with which we can justly find fault¹⁰."

4. Reply to Question No. 93 of examination of James Silk Buckingham; Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1834, Vol. 8, Paper 601, p. 5.

5. *Calcutta Journal*, October 7, 1819, p. 287.

6. Ibid.

7. *Samachar Durpan* (translated), December 13, 1823, quoted in the *Sungbad Patre Sekaler Katha*, Brojendra Nath Bandopadhyay, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 101.

8. *Asiatic Journal*, May 1824, p. 520.

9. *Government Gazette*, May 15, 1823, advertisement.

10. *Bengal Harkaru*, January 6, 1825.

VII. *The Higgledy Piggledy Magazine* (1824) :

"This day is published the *Higgledy Piggledy Magazine*, a literary Sea Pie for April 1, 1824... The above work is printed and published at the Harkaru Press by Samuel Smith and Co. Price 4 Rupees."¹¹

It was a monthly periodical.¹²

VIII. *The Oriental Recorder* (1827) :

"Since July 4, a new periodical is being published. It comes out twice in a week and is priced at rupee one per month."¹³

IX. *Scott's India Gazette* (1832) :

"We are requested by Mr. Scott to intimate to our readers, that he purposes discontinuing the publication of his Paper after this Number in consequence of his having been disappointed in meeting with that support he expected...¹⁴"

X. *The Mirror of the Indian Press* (1833) :

"We have been favoured with the first Number of *The Mirror of the Indian Press*. . . The object of this publication is to collect together such articles from the publications of the day as contain useful and interesting information regarding India. Such a gleaner has long been a desideratum in the country and we hail its appearance with sincere pleasure...¹⁵" "...as its profits are intended to be applied to one of the most valuable institutions in Calcutta, the School Book Society, we sincerely wish it a large circulation."¹⁶

11. *Government Gazette*, Supplementary issue, April 5, 1824.

12. *Asiatic Journal*, November 1824, p. 489.

13. *Samachar Durpan* (translated), July 7, 1827, quoted in the *Sungbad Patre Sekaler Katah*, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 103.

14. *Calcutta Courier*, August 1, 1832.

15. *Reformer*, August 18, 1833.

16. *Bengal Harkaru*, August 12, 1833. There is however no mention in this respect in the Report of the Calcutta School Book Society for the relevant period—10th and 11th Report covering the period of 1832 to 1835.

XI. *Portfolio or The Spirit of the English Magazine* (1835) :

"A Native has undertaken a Weekly publication of sixteen Octavo pages (price one Rupee per month) under the title of *The Spirit of the English Magazine*. We insert the prospectus heartily wishing him every success."¹⁷

"The first number of a periodical we lately announced called *The Portfolio or The Spirit of the English Magazine*, reached us yesterday. The Editor (a Native) modestly asks his subscribers to 'defer their decision on the merits of the journal until a few more numbers have made their appearance. There is however no room for severity of criticism... and we see no reason to doubt that... the *Portfolio* will succeed... especially with his own countrymen of the rising generation, who with abundant desire to cultivate English literature, have not much opportunity to see the periodical works that are published in England."¹⁸

XII. *The Star in the East* (1837) :

"Of the new periodicals which have come out in the recent months one is *The Star in the East*. Its contents include articles on learning and religion."¹⁹

It was conducted by the East Indian youth.²⁰

XIII. *The Daily Intelligencer* (1938) :

"We have the addition of two daily papers—one the *Daily news*... the other, the *Daily Intelligencer*, the editor of which also is a gentleman of some experience... whose articles display sound logic and political knowledge, while his views are asserted under a love to the right of men."²¹

XIV. *La Nouveante* (1938) :

"A new French Journal, to be called *La Nouveante* is to be established in Calcutta to be devoted to Arts, Science and

17. *Calcutta Courier*, August 18, 1835.

18. *Ibid.*, September 5, 1835.

19. *Samachar Durpan* (translated), December 9, 1837, quoted in the *Sungbad Patre Sekaler Katha*, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1356 B.S., p. 198.

20. *Calcutta Christian Observer*, October, 1837, p. 558.

21. *India Review*, June 1938, p. 126.

Literature. It will appear twice a week ; the price is fixed at three Rupees a month."²²

The next reference of *La Nouveante* is available in the *India Review*, October 1938.²³

XV. *The Weekly Political Register* (1839) :

"The *Weekly Political Register* is dead... We received a letter from Mr. Stanhope... that the Journal had been discontinued."²⁴

XVI. *The Calcutta Weekly Chronicle and Journal of Politics, Literature and Science* (1839) :

"The *Calcutta Weekly Chronicle and Journal of Politics, Literature and Science* is a new paper, the first Number of which appeared on the 1st of the current month. The articles are well written with spirit and ability. Besides a daily summary of intelligence of the week, Government Notifications, General Orders etc. render the Journal what its title intimates, namely a chronicle of general and important intelligence."²⁵

XVII. *The Monthly Miscellany* (1842) :

"The Editor and Proprietor of the *Monthly Miscellany* regrets to intimate to his friends and supporters that owing to his immediate departure from the Presidency, he is constrained to transfer the management of the periodical to other hands and with this view he has made arrangement with the Conductors of the *Oriental Magazine* with which publication of the *Miscellany* is hereafter to be incorporated!"

XVIII. *The Calcutta Magazine and Daily and Monthly Treasury* (1844) :

"A new publication comes into being this day, the *Calcutta*

22. *Friend of India*, October 11, 1938, p. 585.

23. *India Review*, October 1838, p. 440.

24. *Friend of India*, February 7, 1839, p. 82.

25. *India Review*, July, 1839, p. 347.

1. "Notice" with the *Oriental Magazine* (Vol. I, No. I), January, 1834.

Magazine and Daily and Monthly Treasury... We have not the opportunity of seeing the work, but the *Star* has paid it the compliment of...three columns of a review of it."²

XIX. *The Calcutta Weekly Messenger* (1845) :

"The *Calcutta Weekly Messenger* : Published every Saturday evening. This Journal concentrates in itself, in condensed form, all subjects of Religious, Local, Political and Literary interest ; and is one of the cheapest publications in India. Terms—in advance 10 Rupees per annum or one Rupee per mensem. Communications for the Editor received by Messrs. Scott and Co., 184, Bazer."³

XX. *The Evening Intelligencer* (1845) :

The *Evening Intelligencer* "is no more...we expected it would fail—in fact we were sure of it—because the price would have been altogether inadequate to the expense had the circulation been even greater than that of any daily in Calcutta."⁴

XXI. *The Calcutta Literary Observer* (1847) :

"The Papers announce the appearance of the *Calcutta Literary Observer*, a bi-monthly journal published by Messrs. Carey and Mendes."⁵

XXII. *The Indian Charter* (1851) :

"...The *Englishman* of Calcutta notices the starting of... (a) Newspaper called the *Indian Charter* which has for its motto... 'The truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth...'⁶ "There is a paper published in Calcutta called the *Indian Charter* which we have never seen. At various times,

2. *Friend of India*, July 4, 1844, p. 420.

3. *Calcutta Christian Advocate*, September 20, 1845, p. 445.

4. *Calcutta Star*, January 16, 1846.

5. *Oriental Observer*, July 1847 ; Summary of Monthly News.

6. *Eastern Guardian*, September 27, 1851.

however, we have read extracts therefrom which have evidenced an average amount of editorial ability.”⁷

XXIII. *Students' Companion* (1852) :

“A little newspaper of four square pages entitled the *Students' Companion* has just made its appearance. It is got up by the boys of Mr. Montague's Academy in the Durrumtollah... We shall be very glad to find this meritorious literary speculation turn out a successful one.”⁸

XXIV. *The Oriental Miscellany* (1853) :

“A Monthly Periodical consisting of 32...pages. The first number, which has been published, contains the following articles :- ‘Introduction’, ‘The Healing Art’, ‘The Wheel of Fortune’, ‘Logic’, ‘Life and Death’ and ‘The Dusserah Vacation’ ... Subscription 4 Rs. per annum or 1 Rupee per quarter⁹.”

XXV. *The Weekly Chronicle* (1853) :

“We deeply regret to notice the unexpected and untimely end of the *Weekly Chronicle*. We are not aware of the immediate fatal cause, which led to this unhappy event. On its first appearance, we were highly gratified on reflecting that the spirit of journalism had gone abroad even among those, who a hundred years ago, had not even the idea of a public journal...”¹⁰

XXVI. *The Indian Popular Educator and Weekly Chronicle* (1856) :

“We have received the first Number of the *Indian Popular Educator and Weekly Chronicle*. We fear we shall not have to notice it again.”¹¹

7. *Madras Examiner*, April 9, 1852.

8. *Bengal Harkaru*, Weekly Supplementary Sheet, May 22, 1852.

9. *Bengal Catholic Herald*, January 22, 1853, Summary of Intelligence.

10. *Hindu Intelligencer*, August 29, 1853.

11. *Hindoo Patriot*, April 24, 1856, p. 131.

XXVII. *The Weekly Times* (1856) :

"The *Weekly Times* has had but a brief existence. But no one expected it to have a long one. There was death on the face of it as soon as it saw the light. It is not quite so easy as some people may imagine to establish a new paper in a comparatively small community¹²."

List of English and Bengali (English and Bengali) Papers and Periodicals under native or joint native and European proprietorship and management.

TIME OF COMMENCEMENT :	TITLE :
May 1859	1. The Bengal Herald
February 1859	2. The Paragon or The
February 1859	Arbansam
May 1859	3. The Reformer
September 1859	4. The Enquirer
Any time between July	5. The Standard
to September 1859	6. The Four Arms Magazine
	7. The Bengali Sun
	or
September 1859	The Hindoo Manual of
September 1859	Literature & Science
November	8. The Hindoo Pioneer
December 1859	9. The Four Arms Magazine I & II
September 1859	10. The Standard News
December 1859	11. The Standard
November 1859	12. The Indian Youth's Magazine
January 1860	13. The Weekly Intelligence
April 1860	14. The Bengal Standard
January 1860	15. The Oriental Magazine
August 1860	16. The Rational Analysis of the
June 1860	Gospel
July 1860	17. The Indian Sun
	18. The Oriental Observer
	19. The Hindu Intelligence
12 Bengal Harkaru, July 15, 1856.	

APPENDIX II

List of English and bilingual (English and Bengali) Papers and Periodicals under native or jointly under native and European proprietorship and management.

TITLE :	Time of commencement :
1. The Benal Herald	: May 1829.
2. The Parthenon or The Athenaeum	: February 1830.
3. The Reformer	: February 1831.
4. The Enquirer	: May 1831.
5. The Sambad Sarsangrah	: September 1831.
6. The Four Anna Magazine	: Any time between July .to September 1833.
7. The Begyana Sar Sungruha or The Hindoo Manual of Literature & Science	: September, 1833.
8. The Hindoo Pioneer	: September 1935.
9. The Anna Magazine I & II	: November/ December 1837.
10. The Murshedabad News	: September 1838.
11. The Sumbad Soudamini	: December 1838.
12. The Indian Youth's Magazine	: November 1840.
13. The Weekly Intelligencer	: Janutry 1841.
14. The Bengal Spectator	: April 1842.
15. The Oriental Magazine	: January 1843.
16. The Rational Analysis of the Gospel	: August 1845.
17. The Indian Sun	: June 1846.
18. The Oriental Observer	: July 1846.
19. The Hindu Intelligencer	: November 1846.

TITLE :	Time of commencement :
20. The Gyanunjun	: April 1847.
21. The Hindu Bondu	: August 1847.
22. The Literary Chronicle	: September 1849.
23. The Bengal Recorder	: December 1849.
24. The Pamphleteer	: April 1850.
25. The Quill	: 1851/1852.
26. The Extract concerning Christianity	: July 1852.
27. The Hindoo Patriot	: January 1853.
28. The Small Cause Court Chronicle	: January 1854.
29. The Four Anna Magazine or A Journal of History, Poli- tics, Literature and Science	: January 1855.
30. The Calcutta Monthly Magazine	: August 1855.

APPENDIX III

List of Missionary papers & periodicals, English & bilingual (English & Bengali)

Sl. No.	Title	Time of commencement	By whom commenced
1. (a)	The Friend of India (Monthly series)	May, 1818	Baptist Missionaries (Serampore).
(b)	-do- (Quarterly series)	September, 1820	-do-
2.	The Gospel Magazine	December, 1819	Bengal Auxiliary Missionary Society.
3. (a)	The Quarterly Circular	March, 1820	Church Missionary Society.
(b)	The Missionary Intelligence	April, 1824	-do-
4.	The Auxiliary Missionary Herald	July, 1822	Baptist Missionary Society.
5.	The Asiatic Observer	January, 1823	Baptist Missionary Society & London Missionary Society, jointly.
6.	The Christian Investigator	September, 1826	Not known.
7.	The Christian Intelligencer	July, 1829	Church Missionary Society.
8.	The Calcutta Christian Observer	June, 1832	Calcutta Missionary Conference.

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Time of commencement</i>	<i>By whom commenced</i>
9.	The Philanthropist	1832	Individual initiative of Rev. C.H. Hough, E.I. Co's Chaplain.
10.	The Calcutta Christian Advocate.	May, 1839	Individual initiative of Rev. T. Boaz of the London Missionary Society.
11.	(a) The Bengal Catholic Expositor	July, 1839	Roman Catholic Mission of Bengal under the patronage of the Vicarate of Bengal.
	(b) The Bengal Catholic Intelligencer	February, 1841	-do-
	(c) The Bengal Catholic Herald	April, 1841	-do-
12.	(a) The Christian Herald	January, 1842	Individual initiative of one belonging to the Church of England.
	(b) The Church of England Magazine	January, 1842	-do-
	(c) The Church Magazine	January, 1843	-do-
13.	The Evangelist	January, 1843	Association of the Baptist Churches in Bengal.

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Time of commencement</i>	<i>By whom commenced</i>
14.	The Freechurchman	September, 1843	Free Church of Scotland's Mission in Bengal.
15.	(a) The Calcutta Christian Herald	July, 1844	Individual initiative of W.H. Carey, grandson of Rev. William Carey.
	(b) The Calcutta Standard	January, 1846	-do-
16.	The Oriental Baptist	January, 1847	Baptist Missionary Society.
17.	The Missionary	November, 1850	Society for Propagation of the Gospel.
18.	The Quarterly Missionary Intelligencer	March, 1852	Church Missionary Society.
19.	The Ecclesiastical Intelligencer	January, 1854	Individual initiative of Rev. G.W. Marriot, E.I. Co.'s Chaplain.

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July-December ; 1825 (Stray Numbers) ; 1830 (Stray Numbers) ; 1831 : July-December ; 1832 : January-June ; 1833 : January-December ; 1834 : (Stray Numbers) ; 1843 : (Stray Numbers).

The Calcutta Gazette : 1785, 1787, 1788-1789, 1791-1810, 1812, 1814, 1816-1818.

Asiatic Miscellany : 1785-1786.

The Calcutta Chronicle : 1789 (Stray Numbers) ; 1792-1795.

Asiatic Mirror : 1793 (Stray Numbers) ; 1797 (Stray Numbers).

The World : 1791-1793 (Stray Numbers).

The Calcutta Morning Post : 1810-1811.

The Calcutta Monthly Journal : 1797-1801, 1803, 1805-1808, 1809-1841.

The Bengal Harkaru : 1822 (Stray Numbers), 1824 : July-December, 1825-1826, 1827 : February-June, December (Stray Numbers), 1828 : January (Stray Numbers) ; August-December, 1829, 1832 : January-June, 1833 : July-December, 1836 : July-December, 1838, 1839 : July-December, 1840, 1841 : January-June, 1842 : July-December, 1843 : July-December, 1844, 1845 : August-December, 1847, 1848 : July-December, 1850-1851, 1853, 1856, 1857 : January-June, 1858.

The Government Gazette : June 1815—March 1832.

Friend of India :

(a) Monthly Series : May 1818—December 1826.

(b) Quarterly Series : September 1820—December 1821
(Nos. 1st-16th).

(c) Weekly Series : 1835-1858.

Samachar Durpan : 1824, 1831 : June-November, 1832 :
February-December, 1833 : January-September, 1834 :
June-December, 1835 : January-July, 1836 : October-
December, 1837 : January, 1851 : July-December, 1852 :
January-April.

The Calcutta Journal : October 1818—October 1823 (missing,
September-October 1820 and March-April 1823).

The Gospel Magazine : 1819 December,

The Quarterly Circular : March 1820—March 1824.

The Missionary Intelligence : April 1824—December 1826,
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